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HISTORY  
OF THE  
ENGLISH REVOLUTION  
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HISTORY  
OF THE  
ENGLISH REVOLUTION  
OF 1688

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UNDER THE BOURBONS," ETC.

HENRY S. KING & Co.,  
65 CORNHILL AND 12 PATERNOSTER ROW, LONDON, E.C.  
1874

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## P R E F A C E.

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THE following small volume owes its origin to a want which the Author has himself felt while engaged in preparing lectures on English History. The most important transaction in our annals is, unquestionably, the Revolution which established on its present foundation the Constitution under which Englishmen have ever since lived. Of that great event Macaulay's brilliant narrative is too long for ordinary students; the account given in even the best School History is unavoidably far too short, while the work of Hallam touches only the constitutional points, the purely historical events not coming within his plan.

It seemed, therefore, that a narrative which should at once be full enough to give an adequate knowledge of the Revolution in its Historical and Constitutional aspects, and yet not so minute or prolix as to dishearten or deter the ordinary reader from approaching the subject, might be of use to both pupils and teachers. And the Author, having compiled this little volume on these principles for his own use, offers it to the public in the hope that those who are engaged like himself may find it convenient.

The arrangement of the topics treated of, having been originally adopted for a course of lectures on the subject, differs from that usually found in regular histories. The Revolution of 1688 is treated as if it were but a continuance and completion of the movements begun in the reign of Charles I. And the relation of the events which established William and Mary as sovereigns, first in England, next in Scotland, and lastly in Ireland, is followed by an enumeration of the legislative measures which were required to complete the Revolution. This again is followed by a description of the circumstances which for some years seemed to threaten a counter-revolution; though several of the events of this last-named character were, in point of time, prior to some of the enactments described before them. And the circumstances to which many looked for a counter-revolution are divided into two classes; one kind of danger arising from foreign war; another, of a more formidable kind, being that of domestic treachery and conspiracies within the kingdom.

The Revolution is regarded as not having been finally completed and secured till the peace of Ryswick, and the volume ends with a brief contemplation of the consequences and fruits of the Revolution, among which the closing events of William's reign necessarily find a place.

*March, 1874.*

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THE  
ENGLISH REVOLUTION  
OF 1688.

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CHAPTER I.

General Result of the Reformation in Foreign Countries—Character of the Reformation in England—Character of the Earliest Events in the Reign of Charles I.—Arbitrary Government of Charles—Violence of the Parliament—The King attempts to Arrest the Five Members—Commencement and General Results of the Civil War—Violence and Artifice of Cromwell—Death of the King—Instability of the Revolution thus effected—Character of Cromwell's Government—Death of Cromwell and Restoration of Charles II.—Character of the Reign of Charles II.—Disgrace of Clarendon and Power of the Cabal—The Popish Plot—The Exclusion Bill—The Test Act—The Rye House Plot—Death of Charles II.

BEFORE the end of the sixteenth century the Reformation had obtained a more general hold over, and a firmer footing in England and Scotland than among any of the continental nations, and its establishment in England had been almost wholly free from the convulsions by which it had been attended in other countries. In France it had led to a series of civil wars disfigured by unprecedented atrocities, culminating in the assassination of the King himself. In Germany it had already caused one fierce and sanguinary

war, and was about to kindle another, whose very name, "The Thirty Years' War," indicates a long continuance of misery such as has been endured by few nations. It had torn asunder, with an everlasting separation, the provinces of the Netherlands, and had reft from Spain the most valuable portion of her European dominions. But in England, as the principles and dispositions of the chief leaders of the movement had been of a more sober-minded and moderate character than had prevailed elsewhere, it had been carried out more peaceably. The demonstrations of hostility which it had provoked had been limited to one or two outbreaks too insignificant to be dignified by the name of insurrection, and fewer victims had\*perished in the entire period of the Marian persecution than Alva had often put to death in a single week.

Perhaps no more honourable testimony can be borne to the general humanity of the English character than is furnished by the abhorrence with which Mary's name has ever since been regarded in these kingdoms on account of a bloodshed which fell so infinitely short of what was practised in the same age in other lands, and of what was incessantly urged upon the Queen by her advisers.

But though the English Reformation was thus comparatively unmarked by violence, it was indirectly paving the way for fierce political commotions. For, as among the continental nations there had been two schools of reformers, the disciples of Luther and those of Calvin, so among ourselves there was a large party which was discontented with the moderation of those who had borne the chief sway in the direction of the recent changes; which, desiring a more explicit protest of enmity to the Papal domination, was impatient at the toleration of many ancient

customs and practices, not because they were in themselves objectionable, but because they prevailed at Rome; and which longed to sweep away every observance which seemed to bear the least connection with the discarded superstitions.

In Scotland this feeling had been universal, and the Presbyterian form, as it was called, which was established there, found no small number of adherents in England; while it so happened that the zeal to promote the spread of their theological opinions coincided, in many men of the greatest influence in that party, with a resolution to reassert and maintain those civil liberties which, under the arbitrary rule of the Tudor princes, had been greatly violated, and had seemed, at one time, in no slight danger of entire extinction.

Matters were in this state when Charles I. came to the throne, and many of the earlier transactions of his reign were most perversely and unhappily calculated to intensify at once the feelings of religious irritation and of political uneasiness. Though he himself cherished a sincere and enlightened attachment to the reformed Church of England, his Queen was a bigoted Papist; and he, in his uxorious fondness, permitted her for some time to indulge in practices which almost seemed as if they had been adopted with the express design of showing her contempt for Protestantism. He even gave rise to a suspicion that he himself shared her opinions by selling to Roman Catholics dispensations from the penal laws which had been enacted against all professors of their religion in the kingdom, and which the Houses of Parliament had formally besought him to enforce; and still more by openly countenancing the pompous ceremonies which Laud, Bishop of London, and

afterwards Primate, took constant occasion to introduce, and which, from their likeness to Popish observances, offended many even of those who were far from belonging to the Puritan party; and, while thus raising a jealousy of his fidelity to the national religion, he excited still deeper and better-founded apprehensions of his inclination to trample on the civil liberties of his subjects.

He raised taxes by his own authority; he imprisoned, prosecuted, and procured the conviction of members of Parliament for opposing this violation of the Constitution in the House of Commons, thus striking a blow at the independence of Parliament, with which the freedom of the whole nation was inseparably linked; and, finally, he dispensed with the Parliament altogether, and for eleven years governed the kingdom by his sole authority, as if he were an absolute sovereign, untrammelled by a single constitutional restraint.

Englishmen were not of a temper to acquiesce long in such a suppression of the freedom which their ancestors had won by their exertions above 400 years before; and, when at last the misguided monarch was compelled once more to summon a Parliament, its leaders showed a resolution to extinguish for ever the abuses which threatened to enslave them. The reluctance which Charles had shown to reassemble them, his manifest inability to dispense with their aid any longer, were sufficient proofs that the power was in their own hands if they asserted it with courage and steadiness. But, unhappily, they were not contented with mere security. The King's encroachments on their rights had begotten a spirit of retaliation, and they in their turn began to encroach on his prerogatives in a manner and degree as fatal to the maintenance of the proper constitu-



tional balance of power in the Government as the most despotic of his measures had been.

They were not satisfied with extorting his assent to Bills which should bind him to a constant reassembling of the Parliament at fixed periods, to a renunciation of the power of arbitrary imprisonment, and of the claim to levy taxes by his own authority ; they impeached his chief adviser, the Earl of Strafford, and wrung from him a consent to that statesman's execution, though the very mode of proceeding which they adopted, a Bill of Attainder, proved their inability to convict him of any legal offence. They even reduced Charles to renounce his right to dissolve them without their own consent ; an act which, at one stroke, transferred the whole power of the State from him to themselves ; and to consent to the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Lords, a measure to which, intended, as it manifestly was, as a blow to the Church, he probably felt a still deeper repugnance.

Their progress was not even arrested by what might have been expected to prove fatal to it, the disunion in their own ranks, which the success that they had hitherto met with brought to light ; for one section of the Opposition, to use a modern term, was composed of men who belonged neither to the Established Church nor to the Presbyterian body, but who called themselves Independents, as being opposed to any kind of ecclesiastical government, and who extended their principle, if it could be called one, to an equal hostility to civil government.

Cromwell was a member of this sect, which gradually became as hostile to the Presbyterians as to the Churchmen ; for the Presbyterians, under the guidance of Hampden and Pym, limited their views to the imposition of sufficient

restrictions on the sovereign power, but the Independents desired to sweep it away altogether, and some of them probably already meditated the destruction of the King himself.<sup>1</sup>

But this difference of aim, vital as it was, did not at first prevent the two parties from acting together, Charles himself, by a strange act of illegal violence, even contributing to unite them more closely. In the autumn of 1641 the leaders of the Opposition induced the House of Commons to publish an elaborate document on the state of the nation, to which they gave the name of a Remonstrance, but which was so manifestly a seditious attempt to rekindle and keep alive the discontent which the King's recent concessions had in a great measure allayed, that it has found but few defenders among subsequent students of history. Charles was deeply offended, as was natural;<sup>2</sup> and a few weeks afterwards not only impeached the chief authors of the memorial of high treason, but went down in person to the House of Commons to arrest those whom he had accused, the majority of whom, if not all, belonged to the Presbyterian party. He failed, since those whom he sought had been forewarned, and had withdrawn from the House before his arrival; but it could hardly be wondered at that an act

<sup>1</sup> Walker, in his "History of Independency," part II., p. 208, admits that they intended from the first to pull down monarchy and set up anarchy, notwithstanding several declarations to the contrary, "which were from time to time extorted from them by the Presbyterians;" but Hallam appears to think that this was true only of a section of the party, saying (II. 270, note, Ed. 1832) that "Neal seems to have proved the Independents, as a body, were not systematically adverse to monarchy."

<sup>2</sup> Hallam even thinks that to offend him was a part of their design. His words are, "The promoters of it might also hope from Charles's proud and hasty temper, that he would reply in such a tone as would more exasperate the Commons."

which struck thus not only at the independence of the Parliament, but at their own individual safety, should have exasperated them : and accordingly we find that Hampden, the man of the highest personal character and influence, and Pym, the most eloquent orator among the Presbyterians, both of whom were among the objects of the King's attempt, were by it embittered to a greater degree of personal hostility to him than they had previously shown. They joined the Independents in carrying a vote to wrest from him the supreme authority over the militia, one of the most essential and inalienable parts of the Royal Prerogative ; and, on his refusal to consent to such an encroachment on his unquestionable rights, they led the Parliament by rapid steps to armed resistance and to a formal raising of the standard of civil war.

We need not here recapitulate the melancholy events of the next seven years. The course of the war, which at first was not unfavourable to Charles, gradually turned against him, and that in the most unfortunate manner ; the disasters of the Parliamentary army being mostly incurred under the command of Presbyterian officers, while the most important advantages which were gained were attributed to Cromwell and the Independents. The division between the two parties became day by day more clearly pronounced, the Independents constantly bearing down their adversaries, sometimes by chicanery, sometimes by open violence ; and the Presbyterians displaying an obstinate incapacity to discern either the signs of the times or the true character of the struggle and of their own position. Cromwell outwitted them by the Self-denying Ordinance : presently he drove their leaders from the House by impeachment ; and at last he actually with his soldiers

cleared the House of all who were opposed to his designs, many of whom he threw into prison, reducing that once august body to a miserable remnant of scarcely more than fifty members.<sup>1</sup>

Meanwhile he had possessed himself of the King's person, and he now brought him to London to murder him with a burlesque of all the forms of law and justice. The House of Peers unanimously refused to concur in his measures, so he proceeded on the vote of the Commons alone; those few members whom he allowed to continue to sit being men on whose fanaticism and unscrupulousness he could safely rely. They first passed a vote that the whole sovereign power of the State belonged to themselves alone; and then appointed a High Court of Justice to try the King on charges of a general course of tyranny and enmity to the Commonwealth, and especially of having levied war against the Parliament. And though scarcely more than half the judges whom they had nominated could be induced to sit, the remainder pronounced him guilty. Cromwell and his troops secured the execution of their sentence, and to the astonishment and indignation of all foreign nations, and to the grief and horror of the vast majority of his own subjects, the unhappy Sovereign was beheaded in front of his own palace.

The next week the House of Commons formally abolished monarchy, and a revolution, the most complete that could possibly have been conceived, was accomplished, the very form and character of the Government being changed. But it had no element of permanence in it.

<sup>1</sup> On the 6th and 7th of December, he sent Colonel Pride, with his troopers, to "purge" the House, and after those days the greatest number that ever met, till after the King's murder, was fifty-three.

Those who had hitherto been so zealous in aiding Cromwell, soon found that they had misunderstood his designs and character; and that they had only given themselves a new master, abler no doubt, but far more arbitrary in his disposition, more severe in his temper, and more unscrupulous in his dealings than his worst enemies had ever accused Charles of showing himself. He did not venture, indeed, to assume the title of king: he longed to do so, but feared the discontent of the army, with whose support he could not afford to dispense; for, in fact, during the whole remainder of his life he kept the nation under martial law. He divided the kingdom into districts, with one of his general officers as his lieutenant in each, and all civil law he set wholly at defiance, trampling on those very articles of Magna Charta the disregard of which had raised the first opposition to the late King. He imposed taxes by his single authority; he imprisoned, executed with a mere mockery of trial, and even sold for slaves those who for one cause or another fell under his displeasure. He remodelled the House of Commons; dictated the acts of the different Parliaments which he convoked while he allowed them to sit; and dissolved them as capriciously and wantonly as ever Charles had dissolved his, on one occasion clearing the House with his troops at the point of the bayonet.

For two years he ruled without even the pretence of a Parliament. In the emphatic but most accurate words of Hallam, "The civil wars had ended in a despotism compared to which all the illegal practices of former kings, all that had cost Charles his life and his crown, appeared as dust in the balance;" and "a sense of present evils not only excited a burning desire to live again under the ancient

“ monarchy, but obliterated, especially in the new generation, that had no distinct remembrance of them, the apprehension of its former abuses.”

Cromwell died in rather less than ten years after the murder of the King : and his death at once undid the whole of the Revolution. Had his life been protracted, many, even of his own supporters, doubted whether he would have been able to maintain his power much longer ; and his son, to whom he had hoped to secure a peaceful succession to his Protectorate, resembled him in no point whatever, but was equally destitute of ability and ambition ; and it was probably with no great reluctance that he found himself, in the course of the next summer, compelled to resign his post.

In fact, from the moment that his father died, every one perceived that the restoration of the royal family was inevitable ; and in May, 1660, Charles II. was replaced on the throne of his ancestors amid the acclamations of a vast majority of the nation. So general was the reaction, that the first Parliament which met after the Restoration was rather inclined to abandon some of the securities for the rights of the subject which had been extorted from Charles I. ; and though they did indeed pass Bills for the confirmation of the Petition of Rights, they repealed the Act for Triennial Parliaments, which had been one of the most laudable measures of the Long Parliament in its first session, and which at the time of its enactment had been regarded by its promoters as the surest of all the bulwarks of the Constitution.

Other laws of recent enactment which they also abrogated were no doubt of a mischievous character, such as that for the exclusion of the Bishops from the House of Peers.

But the repeal of this provision for the constant re-election and reassembling of Parliament did once more virtually lay the liberties of the people at the King's mercy. Great virtue and sound judgment would have been needed to enable a prince, restored to his throne under such circumstances as Charles, to withstand the temptation to misuse the power thus imprudently placed in his hands.

Unhappily, Charles had no such qualities. He was, indeed, far from being deficient in ability; but the wandering, uncertain life which he had led since his removal to the Continent in his boyhood, the constant disappointment of his hopes and plans for the recovery of his crown, had undermined his principles, and had implanted in him a recklessness and indifference to every object but that of the gratification of the moment. And he was not long in finding councillors who sought their own ends in encouraging him in designs and conduct not more ruinous to his own character than fatal to the honour and even the independence of the kingdom.

His first Minister, indeed, was the Earl of Clarendon, who in the first session of the Long Parliament had been a leader of the Opposition, till a conviction that Charles had made sufficient concessions to secure real freedom, and that many of those with whom he had at first connected himself were encroaching unduly and dangerously on the royal authority, led him to espouse the side of the King, and to take office as one of his ministers. As the course of the war grew more and more unfavourable, Charles entrusted him with the especial care of the Prince of Wales; he managed his escape from the kingdom, acted in some degree as his tutor and guardian at Paris; and when the young Prince had become titular King by his father's death, he accompanied him from



place to place as his principal adviser throughout the remaining period of his exile.

His administration cannot be pronounced perfect in point of liberality or prudence ; indeed, it was impossible that so long an absence from his native land should have failed to deprive him of that insight into the feelings of the nation which is indispensable to one who would successfully govern it, while the events which had happened during that time, and the state of affairs, both civil and ecclesiastical, after the Restoration, made his position one of unusual difficulty. Still, his government was generally able, and always upright and patriotic ; and though he could not prevent the supplies which should have been appropriated to the defence of the kingdom from being diverted to glut the rapacity of the King's courtiers and mistresses, nor, in consequence, save the country from the disgrace of seeing an enemy burn its finest ships in the waters of the Thames itself, he kept the King in the paths of the law, and during his tenure of power no inroad was attempted on the Constitutional rights of the people.

But when, seven years after the Restoration, the ungrateful King, weary of his minister's very virtues, which he felt as in some degree a reproach to himself, abandoned him to his enemies, the advisers by whom he replaced him eagerly co-operated with Charles in discarding all restraints of law, prudence, and even decency ; and the rest of the reign presented a systematic violation not only of every principle of Constitutional government, but of all the ordinary obligations of private honour. The national creditors were defrauded by the shutting of the Exchequer ; Charles himself became a pensioner of Louis of France ; the money which he received being partly



a bribe to induce him to acquiesce in the French monarch's aggressions upon his neighbours, and partly a resource to enable him himself to bribe his Parliament; or, if it should not prove sufficiently compliant, to dispense with convoking it.

It was no wonder that such practices produced deep and general discontent. The formal agreement which the Royal cousins had made was, indeed, not known; but the manifest servility of the English Government to that of France excited suspicions; and presently those suspicions took a direction which has at all times been more powerful than any other to kindle the fiercest passions in the nation. It began to be suspected that Charles's object was not so much to establish his own absolute power as to favour the Roman Catholic religion. His brother and next heir, the Duke of York, had publicly avowed himself a Roman Catholic some years before; and it was feared that his influence over the King, which was known to be great, might lead him to adopt the same belief. Such a suspicion made even the most venal members of Parliament unmanageable.

Charles, in imitation of his father, who had suspended the penal laws against the Roman Catholics, had by his own authority issued what he called a Declaration of Indulgence, suspending the penal laws against Nonconformists of any kind, whether Popish or Protestant; the two Houses compelled him to cancel his proclamation; and even passed a Test Act, which bound all holders of office to profess an adherence to the Church of England. Though one of its effects was to deprive the Duke of York himself of the post of Lord High Admiral, and Lord Clifford, the most respectable of the ministers, of the Lord Treasurer's staff, Charles could not venture to refuse his assent to the Bill. But he

could not thus allay the suspicions which his former conduct had awakened, and which, aided by the general contempt into which the Government had fallen, were about to produce bitter fruit of a character to which the history of no country in the world presents a parallel.

The whole nation went suddenly mad on the subject of the dangers to be apprehended from Popery ; a gang of infamous informers invented a strange story of a plot which had been organized by the Pope and the Jesuits to bring back the kingdom under the dominion of Rome ; they supported their statements by the most hardened perjuries ; and inconsistent and absurd and monstrous as was their tale in every particular, nothing which they could invent was so preposterous as to shock the credulity of their hearers.

The plot, according to their testimony, embraced plans for burning London, and for murdering the King ; members of Parliament, ministers of state, and nobles were accused of being privy to the conspiracy, at which the Queen herself was accused of conniving. Numbers of innocent men were brought to trial on these wicked and ridiculous charges ; the judges, never more corrupt than in this shameless reign, pressed their conviction ; the juries, whom mingled credulity and terror seemed to have deprived of their senses, thought the mere indictment a sufficient evidence of guilt ; the King, with a baseness which exceeds all his other infamies, did not scruple to sign the death-warrants of men whom he knew to be honest and loyal, on accusations which in private he denied and ridiculed ; the leaders of the country party, as those were called who in general opposed his government, for once agreeing with him in this iniquity ; hounding on the informers, lending their

voices to intimidate the tribunals, and even seeking to deny the King the power of mitigating sentences, which, callous as he was, he sometimes recoiled from inflicting in all their pitiless severity.

But on other points the Opposition grew less and less accommodating. They impeached his minister, the Earl of Danby; and Charles did not conceal from his French ally his apprehensions that the kingdom was again on the verge of rebellion. To save his minister, whose trial might have brought to light the secret conditions of the treaty with Louis, he dissolved the Parliament, which, in defiance of all propriety, he had maintained in existence for seventeen years. But the new Parliament, which he could not avoid summoning, from its very first meeting displayed a temper and purpose which he regarded as more dangerous than the worst acts of the last. They had the same dread of Popery as their predecessors; but they showed their fears in a manner which, whatever may be thought of its Constitutional character, had in it, at all events, more of statesmanlike foresight. They brought in a Bill to deprive the Duke of York of his right of succession to the throne, on account of his religion. Such a measure would of itself have been a revolution, and Charles was greatly alarmed. He prorogued the Parliament; he ruled without it for more than a year; and, when at last he found himself compelled to reassemble it, the Opposition instantly revived the Bill.

Charles was attached to his brother, and even more, in all probability, to the rights of his family and to the principle of hereditary succession. He exerted himself greatly; he condescended personally to canvass members of both Houses against the threatened measure. He offered to consent to a Bill which should limit the Duke's

authority after he should have become King (an enactment which, when the time came, could hardly have been carried out), and which should fence round the Protestant Church with fresh securities. But, though he by these means procured the rejection of the obnoxious Bill in one session, it was revived in the next, and he had no resource but to dissolve that Parliament also.

He never summoned another ; but for the remainder of his reign dispensed with them altogether, and sought to chastise those who had thwarted him, and to throw an additional protection around his brother by encouraging prosecutions of the leaders of the Opposition, or Whig party, as it had recently been called. Some were alarmed and fled ; others stood their ground and sought to defend themselves by conspiracies and plans for insurrection, one of which at least involved a plot for the assassination of the Duke and the King himself. They were betrayed, as such treasons almost always are betrayed. Stern vengeance was executed on the leading conspirators. Many even of the great towns which were believed to have sympathized with them, were condemned to forfeit their charters ; and Charles, thinking that he had sufficiently crushed his own and his brother's enemies, and passing from his former fears to an excess of confidence, ventured even to dispense, in the Duke's favour, with the Test Act, to which he had recently consented, and to replace him in his office of Lord High Admiral, without requiring him to comply with its provisions.

So open a violation of the law did not strengthen the Government. The ministers themselves began to quarrel with one another, and Charles was more alarmed and more perplexed than ever. Each councillor gave him different

advice, and, as he listened to each, he agreed, or seemed to them and to himself to agree, with each ; being steady to nothing but to his subservience to Louis, who, puzzled and irritated by his irresolution, treated him with daily-increasing disregard, and, while still bribing him, began at the same moment to bribe his chief advisers to counteract and constrain him. It was becoming daily more and more doubtful whether his affability and graciousness of demeanour would be able to avert a renewal of rebellion, when, at the beginning of 1685, he died of apoplexy, his last act being an avowal on his death-bed of his adherence to the Roman Catholic Church, to which he had for many years secretly belonged.

## CHAPTER II.

Popularity of James II. on his Accession—Easy Suppression of Monmouth's Rebellion—James begins to violate the Law—James becomes a Pensioner of Louis XIV.—Composition of the Ministry—He seeks to procure the Repeal of the Test Act and Habeas Corpus Act—He brings up the Army to Hounslow Heath—He quarrels with the Houses of Parliament—Dismisses Lord Halifax.—Revocation of the Edict of Nantes—The Reassembling of Parliament—The King's Speech—Firmness of both Houses—James Prorogues the Parliament—The Pope and the High Tories remonstrate—Lord Castlemaine is sent as Ambassador to Rome.

SINCE Charles had left no legitimate children, the Duke of York, as a matter of course, succeeded to the throne as James II. And for a moment the whole aspect of affairs, and the feelings of the different parties in the State, seemed to have undergone a complete alteration ; and that of the strangest character. While Charles was alive, a suspicion that James cherished a secret inclination to the Roman Catholic religion had been sufficient to provoke more than one conspiracy, and to encourage an open attempt in Parliament to effect such a revolution as would have been involved in a change of the order of succession to the throne. But, as if dangers when present were less to be feared than when only in prospect, with the accession of a Popish king all dread of Popery seemed for a moment to be extinguished. All memory that an Exclusion Bill had nearly been carried appeared to have passed away, and James not only ascended

the throne with the acquiescence of all, but for a brief time was even popular.

Aware of the suspicions which had been entertained of his disposition to assert an arbitrary authority, and to exalt the Roman Catholic religion above and at the expense of Protestantism, he had the judgment, in his first speech to the Privy Council, to endeavour to remove both those causes of apprehension ; and in clear emphatic language declared his resolution to maintain the established government in both Church and State ; his firm reliance on the loyalty of Churchmen, which he promised to requite with steady support and protection ; and his entire contentment with the degree of authority which the law of England secured to the Sovereign, so that he should never desire any power beyond it.

The speech was his only attempt at conciliation during his whole reign, perhaps it might be said during his whole life, but it succeeded perfectly. The Council received it with acclamation, and when it was published it was applauded with equal fervour by the nation at large. His general roughness of manner had obtained for him a reputation for sincerity ; and the boast of both parties, of the assertors of the civil rights of the people, and of the resolute champions of Protestant doctrine, was that they had for their security the promise of a King who never broke his word.

So complete was the reaction in his favour that an attempt to dethrone him, which was made in the course of the summer, only added to his strength. The Duke of Monmouth, who made it, a few years before had been the most popular man in the kingdom ; he was an illegitimate son of the late King, and had been distinguished at Court

by marks of his father's favour, which were not bestowed on any of his brothers. He had commanded a British division in the short war against Holland, where he had gained the hearts of the soldiers, and had earned some reputation as a brave and skilful officer. He had equally ingratiated himself with Churchmen as a faithful adherent of the Church, so that many of them asserted his legitimacy in spite of the King's denial. And no small number of those who had supported the Exclusion Bill had done so with the express object of securing his succession to the throne.

But when, four months after his father's death, he crossed over to the Dorsetshire coast in the hope of deposing James by force of arms, scarcely one of those who had formerly favoured his pretensions joined him. Both Houses of Parliament, with an unanimity which they had hardly shown since the first year of the restored monarchy, concurred in attainting him, setting a price on his head, and in passing Votes of extraordinary Supply to enable the King to crush his enterprise in the bud. At the end of a month the whole force which he had been able to collect did not exceed 6,000 men, nearly all of whom belonged to the poorer classes, and who proved wholly unable to make a stand against the King's troops, though greatly inferior in number. In the one brief conflict which took place, and in which Monmouth himself failed to show the daring courage which becomes one who depends on victory for a crown, he was utterly defeated, was taken prisoner; and, in accordance with the Bill of Attainder already passed, was executed without any further form of trial.

Such an enterprise, made ridiculous by the ease with which it was crushed, was manifestly calculated to strengthen



the victorious King. Nor could it have failed to do so materially had not the ferocious cruelty, not unmixed with sordid baseness with which he chastised it, spread a wide alarm, and, among people of sense, humanity, and moderation, a disgust deeper and more mischievous to himself than the terror which it was meant to excite. Hundreds, including many innocent persons, were executed; James refusing every petition for mercy, and showing that, as Lord Churchill said, "Marble itself was not harder than he," while the fate of many of those who were spared cast even deeper personal disgrace on the Court, since the Queen herself did not scruple to make a profit of them, but received a large portion of the price for which they were sold to work as slaves in the West Indies.

In one point of view, indeed, the ease and speed with which his enemy had been overthrown had a most pernicious influence on James's subsequent fortunes. His was a head easily turned by the slightest appearance of success. Before he had been a fortnight on the throne, he had drawn an argument from the absence of all opposition to his accession, to encourage him in violations both of the common and Constitutional law.<sup>1</sup> He had issued a proclamation, ordering the continuance of the collection of the customs

<sup>1</sup> "Le Roy d'Angleterre a ajouté à cela . . . . . que j'avais vu avec quelle facilité il avait été reconnu et proclamé Roy; que le reste arrivera de la même manière en se conduisant avec fermeté et sagesse," the "rest" being to levy the customs and other branches of the revenue enjoyed by the late King for the next three months by his own authority, which would be "un coup décisif. . . . . Car dans la suite il me sera (said he) bien plus facile ou d'éloigner le Parlement, ou de me maintenir par des autres voyes que me paraîtraient bien plus convenables." Barillon, to Louis XIV., relating a conversation which he had had with James, Feb. 18th, Charles having died on the 6th.—DALRYMPLE, Vol. III., part I., pp. 100, 101.

and other taxes by his own authority, without waiting for Parliament to grant them to him. He had gone to mass with all possible publicity and pomp, as if in express defiance of those penal laws which his brother had been forced to abandon the attempt to relax. And when, in the middle of May, the Parliament met, in his opening speech he had addressed them in language which was hardly to be distinguished from a threat, and which clearly indicated his expectation that his compliance with the laws, and with the Constitutional limitations of his authority, was to be acknowledged to flow from his own condescension, and not from any right which the people could possess to enforce it.

In fact, he had already resolved to trample on both. Almost his earliest act as King had been to renew the dependence on the French King which had been so disgraceful to his brother; soliciting, with the most abject humiliation, a continuance of the yearly subsidy which had been paid to Charles; and assuring Barillon, the French Ambassador, that the object for which, above all others, he desired this aid, was the establishment of the Roman Catholic religion in every part of his dominions on a secure and permanent footing; and next to that, if, indeed, the two objects were not parts of one and the same plan, to render his authority absolute,<sup>1</sup> so that he might be able to coerce the Houses of Parliament, or, if he found them too refractory, to dispense with convoking them altogether.

And he had already organized a Council, fully prepared to co-operate with him in one part of his design. The Earl

<sup>1</sup> "Qu'il savait assez que jamais il ne serait en une entière sureté que la religion catholique ne fut établie en Angleterre de façon à ne pouvoir être ruinée ni détruite." — BARILLON in DALRYMPLE, p. 141, date March 26th.

of Rochester, his brother-in-law, was Lord Treasurer ; the Earl of Sunderland was Secretary of State ; the Earl of Godolphin was the Queen's Chamberlain ; and these men came together to Barillon to announce to him the King's resolution to make himself independent of his Parliament, and to assure him that, with that view, he would refuse to accept a revenue which should only be granted from year to year ; an arrangement which " would lay him under the necessity of continually convoking Parliament, and thus," as he regarded the matter, " change the form of government."

Rather than submit to such a necessity, he was prepared " to maintain himself by open force in the enjoyment of the same revenues which had been granted to his brother during his life." And they urged on the Frenchman that his own Sovereign's interests were so closely concerned in James's success, that it was well worth his while to support him by an increased contribution. While, not contented with thus prostrating himself at the French King's feet, James wrote at the same time to the Prince of Orange, the husband of his daughter, who, as yet, was the heiress of his crown, to insist on his renouncing his hostility to Louis, a demand to which William, while acceding to others of his requests, abstained from replying.

The French King gave the money, and James proceeded to prosecute his designs with energy, every day laying aside more and more the mask of moderation which he had at first assumed. Even if he should not be able to induce the Parliament to grant him his revenues for life, he did not propose as yet to dismiss it, because its consent was indispensable to two measures which he had greatly at heart. Two laws, which had been passed in the late reign,

were the objects of his especial detestation, the Test Act and the Habeas Corpus Act. According to the view which he took of them, "one was the destruction of the Catholic religion, and the other of the Royal authority."<sup>1</sup> And it was absolutely necessary to his views to procure the repeal of them both. The Houses must continue to sit for a while, till he had bent them to his purpose by a combination of intimidation and persuasion. Persuasion he could indeed try with but few, the leaders of the two Houses, whom he might summon to personal interviews; but intimidation could be applied on a larger scale, to the whole Parliament, and even to the people out of Parliament, and especially to the citizens of London, a population rarely of late favourable to the Crown.

Full of this design, he regarded the invasion of Monmouth with complacency, as supplying him with a pretext for raising an army, and thus making himself master of the country.<sup>2</sup> And, after the crisis was past, instead of disbanding the troops, he brought them up to the neighbourhood of the capital, and encamped them on Hounslow Heath, announcing to Barillon his resolution to keep them under arms, whether the Parliament granted him Supplies for the purpose, or refused them. And the determination which he thus expressed he acted up to. Parliament, which had

<sup>1</sup> Charles II. had taken the same view of the Habeas Corpus Act. "Le fou Roy d'Angleterre et celui-cy m'ont souvent dit qu'un gouvernement ne peut subsister avec une telle loy."—BARILLON in DALRYMPLE, p. 171.

<sup>2</sup> "Il me paraît que le Roy d'Angleterre a été fort aise d'avoir une prétexte de lever des troupes, et qu'il croit que l'entreprise de M. le Duc de Monmouth ne servira qu'à le rendre plus maître de son pays."—BARILLON in DALRYMPLE, p. 169.

This was written in June. August 6th he writes, "Le R. d'A. m'a dit que, quoiqu'il arriveil conservera les troupes sur pied, quand même le parlement ne lui donnerait rien pour les entretenir."—*Ib.* p. 170.

necessarily been adjourned on Monmouth's invasion, met again in the second week of November. In its previous session, both Houses, and especially the House of Commons, had shown themselves singularly complaisant. They had conferred on him for life all the revenue which had been enjoyed by Charles ; they had even exhibited a willingness to grant him a further Supply ; and the only vote which seemed dictated by any feeling but a desire to give him entire satisfaction was one by which the Commons, while sitting in Committee, had requested him to enforce the penal laws against Nonconformists ; even this vote having been subsequently reversed in the whole House, which resolved instead that, "they relied on his gracious promise to protect that Protestant religion which was dearer to them than life itself."

Such a concession on their part made it evident that nothing but the grossest provocation, or the strongest conviction of absolute necessity, would induce them to put themselves in steady opposition to his wishes ; and equally evident that nothing but the most entire want, not only of political sagacity, but of common sense, could ever lead him to give them such provocation. Yet, in less than a fortnight after they had assembled for the second session, he quarrelled with both Houses so irreconcilably that he would never allow them to meet again : as if he were resolved to tread in his father's steps on the most dangerous road which that unfortunate Prince had ever taken.

The two Houses were not, indeed, quite so much disposed to be unsuspicious and complaisant as they had been at their first meeting. They had lately had a warning not only of the King's designs, but of the inflexible resolution with which he was prepared to carry them out, in his ungrateful

treatment of one of his most faithful and upright servants. In the last reign, the rejection of the Exclusion Bill by the House of Lords had been chiefly owing to the eloquence of the Marquis of Halifax, and James, on his accession, had expressed to the Marquis himself the warmest gratitude for the service which he had done him on that occasion. Halifax was President of the Council, and James, believing him to be attached to office, and certainly not unfriendly to himself, in more than one private conference tried to win him over to his own views respecting the two obnoxious laws. But Halifax could not be brought to abandon either the Test Act or the Habeas Corpus Act, and James, in high displeasure, struck his name out of the roll of the Privy Council, against the advice of the shrewdest of his courtiers, who warned him of the danger of driving a man so able and so popular into the ranks of the Opposition, and to the great discontent of the nation in general, who believed the expelled minister to be in some degree the victim of the enmity of Louis, because he had always opposed the influence of France, which a recent act of the French King in his own country caused most men now to regard with deeper distrust and abhorrence than ever.

Almost at the same time that the dismissal of Lord Halifax was made public, intelligence arrived that Louis had revoked the Edict of Nantes, by which Henry IV. had granted security for their religion to the French Huguenots;<sup>1</sup> and one of the French prelates, in a speech which had been just published, had proclaimed the closeness of the alliance which subsisted between the two monarchs, affirming that James looked to Louis for support against his heretical

<sup>1</sup> The Edict of Nantes was revoked Oct. 2nd, 1685. Halifax was dismissed from the Council Oct. 21st.

people. The deeds and the language alike filled all England with indignation and alarm ; men could hardly doubt that nothing but a want of equal power restrained James from acting with the same bad faith and cruelty as Louis. And, while they were in this temper, the 9th of November arrived, the day that had been fixed for the re-assembling of the Parliament, which had been adjourned on the news of Monmouth's invasion.

James opened it in person with a speech which he had himself composed. No Parliament had ever met under circumstances which rendered conciliatory language and conduct more needful ; while their conduct in the previous session proved that the members were not inclined to misconstrue the King's words, nor to show any uncalled-for distrust of his designs. Yet no speech was ever delivered more full of provocation, and even of insult. He disparaged the value of the militia ; he demanded an additional Supply for the maintenance of an army of regular troops, larger than any former Sovereign had had at his command except in times of actual war ; and he ended his harangue by announcing that many of the officers to whom he had given commissions were legally disqualified for them, as being Roman Catholics, and consequently not having taken the necessary tests ; but that they were all men known to himself, " who had proved the loyalty of their principles by their practices, and," he added in conclusion, " I will deal plainly with you, that after having had the benefit of their service in such time of need and danger, I will neither expose them to disgrace, nor myself to the want of them in case any new rebellion should make them necessary for me." His disparagement of the militia seemed almost like a studied affront to the country gentlemen, from whom the officers



were drawn, and by whom, as by all their dependents, it was regarded as pre-eminently the national force of the kingdom.

The display of a desire to keep up an unprecedentedly large standing army bore the appearance of a menace to the whole nation, which had not yet forgotten the miseries which their fathers had suffered from the crimes and tyranny of the army forty years before. To speak of the probability of a new rebellion was to intimate an insulting distrust of the whole nation, whose loyalty at the recent crisis showed it to be undeserved. And to follow up these unpleasing topics by an open announcement that he had broken, and that he intended to continue to break the law, which nearly every Protestant in the kingdom regarded as the chief safeguard of his religion, was a challenge to the Parliament to try their strength at upholding that law from which it was not likely to shrink.

Accordingly, the Royal speech did not receive even the customary thanks of the two Houses without severe criticism and contention. The Lords, indeed, did, after some debate, consent to pass the usual vote of thanks ; though the comment of the Earl of Devonshire, that "he was willing to thank his Majesty for having spoken out so plainly as to warn them what they had to expect,"<sup>1</sup> more than neutralized their formal acceptance of his declaration. But the Commons refused to express any opinion on the

<sup>1</sup> Lord Macaulay attributes this sarcasm to Halifax, and speaks of it as uttered in the debate which took place four days afterwards. The account followed in the text is that of Burnet and Dalrymple. It is a matter of little consequence ; but, besides that Burnet seems the best authority, it is evidently more probable that a pointed saying made by some one else should be attributed to a man so eminent for his keen wit as Halifax, than that a sarcasm, really uttered by Halifax, should be assigned by any one to a less conspicuous speaker, such as the Earl of Devonshire.



spur of the moment, and adjourned for three days, which were spent by both parties in organizing their forces and their plans.

When the day of debate came, the leaders of the country party, as the Opposition was still called, carried their point of examining the speech sentence by sentence, and topic by topic; and, in the choice which subject should come first, obtained a victory over the Government on a point which, however the Government might represent it as one of mere form, and, as such, trivial, was, in truth, one of vital importance, in regard both of the general principle and of the degree in which, throughout the whole of the Parliamentary history, the adoption of the order now contended for had contributed to the gradual establishment of the national liberty. Whenever questions of grievance and of Supply were both to be discussed, the wholesome practice had been to discuss the abuses complained of first, so that the grant of Supply might be subsequent to, and practically conditional on, the redress or removal of the subject of complaint.

There were a grievance and a Supply to be discussed now; but the King's speech had inverted the old order of discussion, and had put forward his need of a Supply before mentioning his disregard of the Test Act. The country party moved to return to the old practice, and to consider first the paragraph which avowed the employment of unqualified officers; and, in spite of all the exertions of the Court and the ministers, who left no artifice of cajolery or intimidation untried, they defeated the Government by a majority of 1. And after this victory they had little difficulty in carrying an Address to the King on the subject of the Test Act, in which, while they under-

took to pass a Bill to indemnify the officers who had hitherto served him without the legal qualification, they at the same time pointed out to him that "the continuing them in their employments might be taken to a dispensing with the law without an Act of Parliament, the consequence of which was of the greatest concern to the rights of all his Majesty's subjects, and to all the laws made for the security of their religion;" and therefore they requested him to "give such directions therein that no apprehensions or jealousies might remain in the hearts of his most loyal subjects."

They then proceeded to consider the amount of Supply to be granted. That some Supply should be given they had already resolved; that resolution they had followed by a second, that a Bill should be brought in to render the militia more efficient; and this latter vote had been understood to imply a determination only to grant a sufficient sum to keep up the existing force of regular troops till the militia could be remodelled.

The ministers, who took the same view of it, hoped, nevertheless, to elude it by the amount and application of the Supply, but their method of proceeding only gave the country party a second victory. They demanded £1,200,000, and would have had the vote express that the money was granted for the maintenance of the troops. The opposition, by a majority of more than 40, reduced the amount by £500,000, and made no mention of the service to which the money was to be applied, avoiding, by this silence, all appearance of giving a parliamentary sanction to the retention of so large a force. James was greatly displeased, nor, when the Commons waited on him with their Address, could he bridle his anger. Though the Address was couched in the most studiously

respectful terms, he replied with what he intended for a severe reprimand, complaining of their want of confidence in him and in his word, though, he added, their behaviour to him should not provoke him to forget his promises to them.

It was an ill-judged display of bad temper, and it produced a fruit which he had been far from expecting. On the day of the opening of Parliament, the Upper House had shown an inclination to be more complaisant than their brother legislators of the Lower House, but the King's reply to the dutiful and moderate expostulation of the Commons now filled them also with apprehension, and some of the most eloquent and influential of the Peers, not all of them members of the Whig party, brought forward a motion to fix a day for taking the King's opening speech into consideration, nor would they be moved from their purpose by the argument of the ministers that they had already voted his Majesty thanks for it. It was evident that the King's answer to the Address of the Commons, abstaining as it did from expressing the slightest intention of yielding to their remonstrance on the employment of the officers who refused the Test, had made a most unfavourable impression.

It was, indeed, openly avowed that this was the case by Compton, Bishop of London, who had formerly been preceptor of the King's daughters, the Princesses Mary and Anne, and who now energetically supported the proposal to discuss the speech, declaring that, in what he said, he was the authorized mouthpiece of his brethren on the Episcopal bench, and that they were all of one opinion that the Test was the best security for their religion ; that if the King could dispense with that, he could dispense with any

other law, or with every law; and that the people would thus be living under an absolute and despotic Government.

Once more the ministers were beaten; a day was fixed for debating the speech, but the debate never took place. Though James could not prorogue the Parliament before the Bill for the grant (which the Commons had already agreed to) had gone through the usual steps without abandoning the promised Supply, he preferred the loss of that great sum to the risk of being compelled by the unanimity of both Houses on the subject to renounce his claim to dispense with the Test Act. He at once deprived the Bishop of London of the Deanery of the Chapel Royal, and the very next morning he came down to the House of Lords, and, to quote the description of the French Ambassador, "with marks of haughtiness and anger on his countenance which gave sufficient indication of his sentiments," prorogued the Parliament till the spring. It had sat but eleven days, and he never allowed it to meet again, but governed without one for the rest of his reign. He professed, indeed, to take warnings from his father's example and fate, but misunderstood and misapplied them with a strange blindness, often repeating that his father had been ruined because he had made concessions, while the obvious truth was that his destruction had been owing, not to his making concessions at all, but to his making them, or rather abandoning his illegal pretensions, too late.

From this time forth, therefore, James's reign was an unalloyed and undisguised despotism; and one which was not made more tolerable by the character of the objects aimed at, or by the manner in which they were prosecuted.

Before the prorogation, he had in some degree condescended to conceal his sentiments, at least from the main body

of the people ; though to Barillon himself he had declared the joy with which he had heard of the revocation of the Edict of Nantes, and of the success of Louis' efforts, "for the extirpation of heresy in France,"<sup>1</sup> which he described as having no parallel in any age nor in any country, he had declared in public that he disapproved of the severities practised on the French Huguenots ; had granted some of the exiles relief from his privy purse ; and had even authorized a national subscription being set on foot for them. But now that he had cast aside all fear of Parliament, which he was resolved to summon no more, he retraced his steps ; recalled his proclamation in favour of the refugees ; caused some of their works, though published in France and written in French, to be burnt by the common hangman ; used his utmost endeavours to stifle the subscription which he had sanctioned ; and, with strange inconsistency, when, in spite of, or perhaps in consequence of, his disapproval, it had reached the magnificent sum of £40,000, he prohibited the slightest aid from the fund being granted to any one of them who should not first take the Sacrament according to the form of the Church of England. Much as he hated that Church, he preferred to pay it a compliment, which it did not desire, rather than allow the French Huguenots, whom being Calvinists he regarded with even greater bitterness, to be relieved in their destitution by English sympathy and liberality.

We shall fail to form an adequate estimate of the impolicy and headlong folly of the course which James now adopted, if we overlook the fact that it was disapproved by all the

<sup>1</sup> See two despatches of Barillon, quoted in *Dalrymple*, Vol. III., App., pp. 177, 178, one being dated in the summer of 1686, but the other as early as Oct. 5th, 1685, five weeks before the meeting of the Parliament.

ablest and most respectable members of the Roman Catholic body. The Pope himself, Innocent XI., a prelate of high character for personal virtue and for ability, urged him to moderate his zeal, being probably guided in no slight degree by the opinions of Count Adda, whom, at James's special request, he had sent over to England as Nuncio, and of the Vicar Apostolic, John Leyburn, who was himself an Englishman. They agreed in reporting to Rome that by a moderate policy, and an adherence to the Constitution, James might probably succeed in obtaining great relaxations of the existing laws for their co-religionists ; and the most eminent of the Roman Catholic lay nobles did not scruple to urge the same opinion. They were seconded by the leaders of that party among the Protestants whose principles led them to show the greatest deference to the Crown. The high Tories, whose leading representatives at this time were the Duke of Ormond and the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester ; the Duke the faithful and illustrious servant of his father ; the Earls his own brothers-in-law, bound, therefore, by every family tie and every consideration of personal interest to uphold his authority, and further his plans even to the length of putting some force on their consciences.

But these men were thrown into great difficulties and perplexities by the line of conduct which the King was resolved to adopt, and still more by the motives which led him to adopt it. As Constitutional statesmen, they were all eager champions of the monarchy ; and the two Earls were especially bound, by their respect for their father's memory, to look on the ancient laws and charters of the kingdom as inseparable ingredients in the Constitutional monarchy of England. The maintenance of the Church of England was in their eyes equally a part of the Constitution : equally in-

dispensable to the real freedom of the people. It was even to his fidelity to the principle of the strict union of Church and State that, in their eyes, the King's father had principally owed his death. But the whole policy of James was to place Church and State, not in union, but in direct antagonism to each other; to make the State the destroyer of the Church, thus rendering one part of their duty irreconcilable with the other.

Their perplexity was increased by their possession of lucrative and honourable offices: Rochester was Lord Treasurer, Clarendon was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland; and it was easy to foresee that a refusal to comply with the royal demands on all points might cost them their places. They implored their royal kinsman not to place them in the cruel dilemma of having either to withstand the royal authority or to desert their religion. Their remonstrances were addressed to ears deafened by the hearer's ideas of the sacred character of his authority. Complain as they might, threaten as they might, he had persuaded himself that the very soundness of their Churchmanship would keep them on his side, that no violence to their religion would lead into actual disobedience men who knew and owned that religion enjoined them to honour the King as one of the first of duties. And under the influence of this conviction he went on blindly and unflinchingly in the course that he had marked out for himself, though only one of his ministers, the Earl of Sunderland, gave him the least encouragement.

Sunderland, who had been Secretary of State under Charles II., and who had held the same office ever since James's accession, had pursued the policy adopted by more than one of the ministers in the late reign, of ingratiating himself with Louis as well as with his own master. For



a large annual pension from France, he had undertaken to dissuade James from ever again meeting a Parliament ; and in a very few months he had so won on the King's confidence that, on the dismissal of Halifax, he had been allowed to add the dignity of President of the Council to the office which he already enjoyed. He was ready even to renounce his religion and to turn Roman Catholic ; and such a step was soon found to be indispensable to any one who sought an enduring influence with James ; who neither in politics nor in religion could tolerate any scruples which opposed themselves to his will. Sunderland was a man of considerable talents ; but the other advisers of the King were as incapable as they were profligate.

One was Lord Castlemaine, known only as the husband of one of the late King's mistresses, the Duchess of Cleveland, whose dishonour had procured for him an Irish earldom. Another was Lord Tyrconnel, whom James himself had raised to the peerage, though among his deeds of infamy was one which the King, as a man of common honour, ought to have regarded with everlasting resentment ; since, by a series of the foulest lies, he had endeavoured to stain the reputation of his first Duchess, the mother of his daughters. For both, James had employment in store. Tyrconnel was employed as Commander-in-Chief in Ireland. Castlemaine was sent as ambassador to Rome, where the Pope received him with a studied coldness that was, no doubt, meant as an indication of his disapproval of his master's policy. Nor was it strange that his Holiness should regard James's system with such feelings, for Innocent XI. was inclined to depart from the attitude which his predecessors had assumed in France towards the Jansenists, and consequently to discourage the Jesuits, who were notoriously



the chief prompters of the recent measures of the English Court.

One of the favours which Castlemaine was most especially instructed to solicit, was the grant of a Cardinal's hat for Father Petre, the Vice-Provincial of the Jesuit Order in England, and James's chief counsellor in all ecclesiastical matters. But with this request Innocent steadily refused compliance; and after a residence at Rome of about a twelvemonth, the ambassador returned to England, having brought nothing but ridicule on his master and on himself by the notorious failure of his mission, and the arrogant ill-temper with which he bore it.

## CHAPTER III.

Violence of Lord Tyrconnel in Ireland—State of Ireland—The massacre of 1641—Tyrconnel succeeds Lord Clarendon as Lord Lieutenant—The Protestants are gradually dismissed from employment—Conduct of the Government in Scotland—General hatred of Popery in the Scotch nation—James quarrels with the Privy Council and with the Estates—James dispenses with penal statutes in England—The case of Sir Edward Hales—Preferments in the Church are conferred on Roman Catholics—Establishment of a Court of High Commission—The case of Dr. Sharp and Bishop Compton—Roman Catholic convents, &c., are established in London—Position and character of the Prince of Orange.

UNHAPPILY, the work entrusted to Tyrconnel was not equally barren of results. To him, as an Irishman, the whole conduct of affairs in Ireland was gradually committed; and it was the peculiar misfortune of that country that the King could not there prosecute his designs of setting Church against Church, without, at the same time, bringing on it the still greater evil of setting race against race; for in Ireland, if those who professed the Roman Catholic religion could complain of injustice, it was injustice which fell upon them, not as Roman Catholics, but as Irishmen. Those immigrants, whether of Norman, or, more rarely, of British blood, who had settled in Ireland under the Plantagenets, had, in a few generations, amalgamated so completely with the natives that, in the quaint language of an old statute, they had become more Irish than the Irish themselves.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Ipsis Hibernis Hiberniores.*

The two races had become one, calling themselves, and being called, emphatically the Irish, to distinguish them from the settlers of English or Scotch blood who, since the accession of Elizabeth, had been induced to establish themselves in the country. Between these new-comers and the old inhabitants there was but little goodwill. The English and Scotch despised the Irish as little better than savages. The Irish hated them as intruders. Strafford, while he held the reins of Government as Lord Deputy, awed both into quiet ; but, when he was removed, the international enmity broke out fiercely, and in 1641 the Irish, under Sir Phelim O'Neill, rose in insurrection with the deliberate design of massacring all the English and Protestants in the land.

To a great extent they carried out their horrible purpose ; they failed, indeed, in their attack on Dublin Castle, and were similarly baffled in one or two other places where vigilant leaders were warned in time, either by pitying friends, or by their own suspicions. But those who were thus saved were few ; the great bulk of the new settlers were taken unawares, and all who fell into the hands of their enemies were slaughtered without mercy. The number of those who perished, greatly magnified at first, as was natural, by the exaggerations of fear, could only be reckoned by tens of thousands ;<sup>1</sup> and, if their fate bred in those who survived, and

<sup>1</sup> The first estimates reached the incredible amount of 200,000. The latest and lowest, that of Sir W. Petty, reduced the number to 37,000. But the long struggle which ensued between the two parties was far more fatal than the first assault. "It is almost enough to say that the blood spilt in the winter of 1641-2, was not washed out till, according to the elaborate computation of Sir W. Petty, out of an entire population of 1,500,000, more than 500,000 had, by sword, famine, and pestilence, been miserably destroyed."—FROUDE : *The English in Ireland*, p. 113.

Twenty pages further on, Mr. Froude says, "The surviving population was estimated by Dr. Petty at about 850,000, of whom 150,000 were English

in those who afterwards came over, a detestation of the race whom they knew to have contrived the massacre, the ferocity with which Cromwell afterwards avenged it kept alive the feelings which had prompted it among the Irish themselves.

The hatred, therefore, which subsisted between the two races was now bitterer than ever; being, perhaps, aggravated on both sides by the feeling that their strength was less unequal than at any former period.<sup>1</sup> In religion they differed wholly. Among the Irish there were few Protestants; among the English and Scotch there was probably not one Roman Catholic; so that to raise the Roman Catholic religion over Protestantism in Ireland was to raise the old Irish above the new settlers; and not only to intensify the feud existing between the two, which a wiser ruler would have made it his most anxious care to mitigate, but to give the preponderance to that race which was known to be hostile to English rule.

It has been truly pointed out that James had peculiar qualifications for allaying the animosities which existed, since the old Irish looked on him as a brother Catholic, the English and Scotch as a sovereign of their own blood; so that both parties might reasonably regard him as one dis-

and Scots."—*Ib.* 133. It is remarkable that O'Neill did not at first intend to include the Scotch in the slaughter. "The Scots, of whom there were several thousand families in Ulster, were to be left, if possible, unmolested. To divide the interests of Scots from English would make the work more easy."—*Ib.* 98.

<sup>1</sup> Lord Macaulay, Vol. II. 127, estimates the population of the whole island, in 1686, at nearly 2,200,000, of whom about 200,000 were "colonists proud of their Saxon blood and of their Protestant faith." But Mr. Froude, speaking of a time a few years earlier (1665), says, "The proportion of Protestants to Catholics had increased very considerably since the [Cromwellian] settlement. Of the latter, there were now 800,000; of the former 300,000."—*The English in Ireland*, p. 154. It is certain that the Protestants must have increased during the next twenty years.

posed to look favourably on their claims, and therefore might be expected willingly to receive him as a mediator. But mediation requires impartiality, while both religious bigotry, and his belief in his right to absolute power, prevented James from putting on even the semblance of impartiality. They even restricted his choice of an agent to Irishmen; for, as he said, "there was work to be done in Ireland which no Englishman would do;" and, so far as an utter absence of scruples or shame was needful in the servant he was to trust, it could not be denied that Tyrconnel was a fitting instrument. At first he was only appointed Commander-in-Chief, Clarendon being still allowed to remain as Lord-Lieutenant; but at the beginning of 1687 the English governor was removed, and Tyrconnel was suffered to combine both offices. From the first moment, however, of his landing in Ireland, all the real power was in his hands, and the nominal Viceroy found himself compelled to submit to his dictation. As early as Monmouth's rebellion, Tyrconnel had begun to disarm the Protestant gentry on the plea that they favoured the invader; and even after that danger was past, Clarendon was compelled to prosecute the disarmament more stringently, and thus to leave the Protestants wholly at the mercy of their enemies.

Presently, fresh orders were sent over to fill the municipal corporations and the Privy Council with Roman Catholics, often of a rank from which Privy Councillors had never been taken before, so that the Protestant nobles refused to sit at the same Board with them, and the very men who were thus promoted were ashamed of their dignities, as conferred on them in open violation of all law and precedent. The Protestant bishoprics which fell in were kept vacant, that their revenues might be given to Roman Catholic pre-

lates, while, to prevent the possibility of resistance, the army also was carefully weeded. In a few months, above 4,000 Protestants were cashiered, though the officers had, generally, bought their commissions. And, as the common soldiers were stripped of their uniforms, the naked and destitute condition in which they were turned adrift caused an almost universal consternation. The more respectable Roman Catholics themselves disapproved of the violence of these acts, which at first they were inclined to impute rather to the folly of Tyrconnel himself than to James; Lord Bellasis, whom the King had made Lord Treasurer on Rochester's dismissal, openly saying that "that fellow was madman enough to ruin ten kingdoms." But it proved that James's own instructions were so violent that no rashness of any subordinate officer could outrun them, and that Tyrconnel might probably have pleaded, as did Jefferies after his western campaign, that his obedience would have been more faithful and precise if he had been even more intemperate.

In Scotland, James was in some degree aided in his projects by the state of the law as it existed in that country, since the Scottish Act of Supremacy gave him a more absolute power in ecclesiastical affairs than he enjoyed in his other kingdoms. And it was also in his favour that some of the ablest and most influential of the Scotch leaders had mixed themselves up in Monmouth's rebellion, and had thus greatly discredited any resistance they might hereafter make to his authority; the most powerful of all the nobles, the Earl of Argyll, having even ventured to rise in arms against the Government, and having expiated his treason on the scaffold.

On the other hand, those from whom he could expect any zealous co-operation in his exertions on behalf of his

religion were very small in number, since, from the time of Knox, all exercise of the Romish religion had been prohibited by statutes of such ferocious intolerance that few cared to expose themselves to their penalties. He had, indeed, succeeded, on his accession to the throne, in inducing some of the nobles to profess his faith. The Earl of Perth, the Chancellor, with his brother, Lord Melfort, the Secretary of State, were eager to supplant the Duke of Queensberry, the head of the ancient house of Douglas, in his office of Lord Treasurer; and knowing well that no road to the King's favour was equally sure, declared themselves convinced of the truth of the Popish doctrines by some papers which Charles II. had drawn up on the subject of the controversy between the Church of England and the Romanists; and which, since his death, James had published with great exultation, because in them his brother had declared his belief in the superior validity of the arguments of the Roman Catholic champions.

Though the personal characters of the two brothers were far from standing high in general estimation, and though their abilities were utterly contemptible, their conversion was a sufficient title to James's entire confidence. Queensberry was dismissed from one office after another, and edict after edict was issued, showing the Roman Catholics all the favour which the King could show them, without the aid of the Estates of the kingdom. One enjoined the Protestant clergy to forbear from preaching against Popery; another granted Roman Catholic officials a dispensation from taking the legal tests. Restrictions were imposed on the press, and book-sellers were forbidden to publish any book without the license of the Chancellor. The citizens of Edinburgh, a population probably more hostile to anything that bore the semblance

of Popery than any other in Europe, became violently discontented, and presently, when they learnt that Lord Perth had opened a Roman Catholic chapel in his house, they broke out in a formidable riot, forced their way into the chapel, and defaced all the ornaments, not sparing Lady Perth herself from insult. Quiet was not restored till the troops were called out, and more than one person was killed by their fire. Some of the ringleaders were apprehended, and James, with unkingly cruelty, sent down orders to put the prisoners to the torture.

This illegal severity was no doubt meant to deter men from further opposition to his will, and James proceeded with great energy in his object of extorting from the Privy Council and the Estates their co-operation in the enactment of laws which his own authority was insufficient to pass. His proposals argued a strange ignorance of the feelings and of all the previous history of the nation, for the great bulk of the people was inflexibly attached to the Presbyterian form of worship, the exercise of which had lately been prohibited by enactments equally stringent and barbarous with those which had been framed against Popery. To hear the mass three times, and to attend a Presbyterian conventicle were equally made capital offences ; but James now desired to repeal the statutes which imposed penalties on the Papists, while leaving untouched those which denounced the gallows against Presbyterians.

The Privy Council was willing to do more than might have been expected ; the members offered to agree to relax the laws against both sects, but coupled their consent with a demand that the King should bind himself by a solemn promise to protect the Protestant religion. James replied that the Protestant religion was false, and that he would not



engage to protect it, and in high indignation turned to the Estates to obtain from them the aid which the Council refused him.

In April, 1686, the Estates were opened with a letter from the King, in which he required them to repeal the laws against the Roman Catholics, offering, as inducements to win their compliance, to open to their commerce a free trade with England, and to pardon some political offenders, but abstaining from holding out the slightest hope of similar indulgence to the Presbyterians. The leaders of the debates in the Estates proved more impracticable than the Privy Councillors. Their language, as reported by Barillon, was that "they must, by refusing to sell their God, wipe off the reproach of having once sold their King;" and even the Lords of Articles, as a body of Commissioners was called, whose task it was to draw the Bills which were to be laid before the Estates for discussion, though virtually nominated by the Crown, refused to put into form the proposals which he desired, declaring that they were contrary to the fundamental laws of Scotland. In high wrath, James tried intimidation; he tried punishment. Some of those who had taken the lead in the discussions he dismissed from their offices; others he deprived of pensions; but his violence only sharpened the spirit of resistance, and after a session of a few weeks, he adjourned the Estates, as he had already adjourned the English Parliament; and, telling Barillon that "by the authority which the law gave him he could establish in Scotland that liberty in favour of the Catholics which the Parliament refused to grant," he proceeded to act in the spirit of that announcement.

He deprived Bishops of their sees; he forbade the judges to put in execution any of the laws against Papists; he

prohibited all municipal elections, and took upon himself to fill up all the magistracies and different offices in every borough town in the kingdom. At the beginning of the next year, he even issued a proclamation which abolished nearly all the restrictions that had hitherto been imposed on the Roman Catholics, and which, while it allowed them to build chapels, still refused equal liberty to the Presbyterians ; and he especially announced a resolution to enforce the law which inflicted death as the punishment for the offence of attending a Presbyterian conventicle in the open air.

But, however monstrous these acts might be, and however great the degree in which, in both the sister kingdoms, they alienated men's minds from the Crown, and prepared them for insurrection, it was in England that James himself felt that the decisive blows must be struck ; and it was by the reception which his measures might meet in England that the eventual results of his policy must be determined. If, either by force or by address, he could carry his point in the country which was the seat of government, he was convinced that he need not apprehend any permanent resistance in the other parts of the kingdom. He resolved, first, to try address, or, in other words, to endeavour to cover his proceedings with a form of law, by means of the exercise of that power of dispensing with penal statutes, for which one or two acts of former sovereigns, and especially of his own father, seemed to afford precedents. The limits of this power had never been defined by the law ; but it was notorious that every King had claimed and exercised, as a part of his royal prerogative, the right of pardoning persons convicted of crimes, or of inflicting punishments slighter than those to which the criminal had been sentenced by

the judge. And James now determined to employ this expedient to nullify all the statutes which imposed disabilities or penalties on Roman Catholics. It was not easy to find a mode of doing so ; for judge after judge warned the King that, if his power to grant such dispensations as he proposed to grant were contested in a court of law, they should be unable to give a decision in his favour, while both the Attorney-General and the Solicitor-General positively refused to draw the warrants which they were ordered to prepare for conferring offices and ecclesiastical benefices on Roman Catholics ; the Attorney-General, a barrister named Sawyer, of high reputation for professional ability, telling the King that such an act would be not merely a violation of a single statute, but an abrogation of the whole statute law as it had existed from the time of Elizabeth.

Nearly all who thus declared their disapproval were turned out of office, and replaced by men of inferior ability, but of more pliant and accommodating or more timorous disposition. And when James had thus got advocates to his mind and packed the bench of judges, he, without delay, invoked the aid of the machinery of the law for the accomplishment of his grand design. Sir Edward Hales, who had recently become a Roman Catholic, had been rewarded with the colonelcy of a regiment, and was performing the military duties of his rank without having taken the test prescribed by the Act passed in the late reign. A collusive information was laid against him, and, when he had pleaded that his Majesty had granted him a dispensation authorizing him to hold his commission without complying with the provisions of the Test Act, the judges pronounced his plea good, and directed his acquittal, resting their decision on grounds which were more formidable than the decision itself,

that the laws of England were the King's laws, and that, consequently, it was an inseparable part of his prerogative to dispense with penal laws in particular cases, for reasons of which he was the sole judge.

The whole affair was treated in Court as if it were absolutely devoid of importance ; even the counsel for the prosecution argued their case as if they desired to be defeated.<sup>1</sup> But it was not regarded as trivial by the nation at large, through which it spread a general indignation and alarm ; men felt that every principle of Constitutional government was undermined by the judges' decision, and the King speedily showed that he meant to carry the rule thus laid down by them into every department of the State. Roman Catholics were sworn in as members of the Privy Council. By an inconceivable mockery not only of law but of religion, livings in the Church of England were conferred on Popish priests ; and Obadiah Walker, the master of the most ancient college in Oxford, was induced to profess himself a Roman Catholic ; and retaining his headship, established an oratory in the College, introduced a Jesuit as chaplain, and celebrated mass, to the disgust of the students, whom he tried to coerce into following his example, but who turned him and his new worship into ridicule, regaling his ears, as he crossed the quadrangle, with doggrel rhyme,

" Old Obadiah  
Sings Ave Maria."

Another Papist, Dr. Massey, was made Dean of Christchurch, though that office added to the presidency over

<sup>1</sup> " After the cause had been argued with a most indecent coldness by those who were made use of on design to expose and betray it."—BURNET, p. 669. But Hallam, vol. III. p. 85, says, " This hardly appears by Northey's argument "; Northey being the leading counsel for the prosecution.

the chief college in the University the highest post under the Bishop in the cathedral chapter ; and he received at the same time a secret dispensation from the Act of Uniformity and from all ecclesiastical statutes which had any reference to his office, couched in terms so ample as evidently to be intended for a precedent. Bishoprics were conferred on men of neither learning, nor virtue, nor any other qualification but an understood willingness to renounce their Protestant profession. And the King long kept the Archbishopric of York vacant, with the intention of raising the Jesuit Petre to that high dignity as soon as he could obtain a dispensation from the Pope, without which no Jesuit could accept a mitre ; but which Innocent marked his disapproval of the King's ardent policy by steadily refusing.

But there were many things which, as the King imagined, he could do without any assistance from Rome, and one of which seemed capable of such wide application as to include every part of his principal design. In April, 1686, he created a Court of High Commission, with a complete visitatorial and governing power over the whole Church of England. A court with the same name had existed in his father's time, and, having been converted by Laud into an engine of almost universal oppression, had been abolished by the Long Parliament ; while, so bitter had been the recollection which it had left behind it, that the Parliament of Charles II., which restored many others of the Ecclesiastical Courts, refused to revive that tribunal ; and even inserted expressions in the Bill for the re-establishment of the rest, which were designed to operate as a distinct bar to the renewal of its powers in any form.<sup>1</sup> If it was not con-

<sup>1</sup> " They had taken marked precautions in passing an Act for the

trary to any express statute, it was clearly inconsistent with every principle of the Constitution for the King to create anew, by his single authority, a Court which in the very last reign, the whole Parliament, King, Lords, and Commons, had agreed in condemning.

And if the re-establishment of this court was in itself a grievance, the use for which it was instantly employed rendered it still more odious ; for the first person cited before it was Compton, Bishop of London. Even before he had issued the proclamation creating the tribunal, James had taken upon himself to exert some of its powers, and had issued directions to all the Protestant clergy to abstain from controversial sermons. Roman Catholic preachers were left at liberty to advocate their doctrines ; but the preachers of the Church of England were prohibited from replying to them. Many manfully disregarded so illegal and unjust an edict, and among them, Dr. Sharpe, one of the royal chaplains, and rector of a London parish. At the special request of one of his parishioners, he preached an eloquent refutation of some of the chief doctrines of Popery, and the King instantly sent orders to Compton to suspend him. Compton's lawyers warned him that he could not legally obey the mandate without giving Sharpe an opportunity of being heard in his own defence. The Bishop reported their opinion to the King, requesting to be excused from complying with a command which was illegal, and James instantly caused his new Court of High Commission to summon him before it to answer for his disobedience.

“ restoration of ecclesiastical jurisdiction that it should not be construed  
“ to restore the High Commission Court.”—HALLAM, vol. II., c. XI.,  
p. 451. Ed. 1832. Cf. Burnet, p. 675.

Jefferies, now Lord Chancellor, was chief of the Commission; a man, whose servility and barbarity, as shown on the trials of Monmouth's adherents, had made him infamous in the eyes of every man of virtue and honour throughout Europe. The other members were the Earl of Rochester, the Earl of Sunderland, Herbert, who had been made Chief Justice for the express purpose of giving judgment for the Crown in Hales's case; and three prelates, Archbishop Sancroft, who declined attending; Crewe, Bishop of Durham, who seemed proud of his courtier-like sycophancy; and Sprat, Bishop of Rochester, who was bound to the King by his hope of obtaining the Archbishopric of York, if Innocent should still prove obstinate on the question of a dispensation for Petre. Jefferies now browbeat the Bishop with such insolence that even his colleagues were ashamed of his conduct. But, with all his violence, he was unable at first to procure the sentence he desired. So irrefragable were the arguments with which Compton's counsel defended him, that Rochester, Herbert, and Bishop Sprat declared their opinions in his favour. James was furious. It was to no purpose that his eldest daughter, the Princess Mary, wrote to him from Holland in favour of her old tutor. The clearer the Bishop's case, the more influential his friends, the more resolute was James to make an example of him. Though the Earl of Rochester was his own brother-in-law, he threatened to deprive him of his post if he did not retract his sentence, and condemn the Bishop; and the Earl, with a baseness as unprecedented as it was unprofitable, for, in spite of it, James did dismiss him a few months afterwards, complied with the tyrannical order. His voice gave the Bishop's enemies a majority; and they pronounced a sentence by which Compton was suspended from all



spiritual functions. They were unable to touch his emoluments, since such a step would have enabled him to appeal to the Civil Courts for protection ; in which case the Chief Justice himself warned the King that he must inevitably succeed.

It was the only instance in which James condescended to take warning. He now openly encouraged Friars of all orders, Benedictines, Franciscans, Carmelites, and, above all, Jesuits, though, from the time of the Gunpowder Plot, special statutes of unusual severity had been enacted against that order, to establish chapels, convents, and schools in the heart of London ; while, to check any disposition of the citizens to resist, he assembled a fresh army, consisting of above 13,000 men, cavalry and infantry, with a heavy train of artillery ; and encamped it on Hounslow Heath, within 12 miles of the capital. But the feeling which he thus hoped to repress on the part of the citizens, being, in truth, the feeling of nearly every Englishman worthy of the name, was largely shared by the soldiers. To use a modern expression, the two bodies began to fraternize together, and the unarmed population of the city soon learnt that, if things went further, they might reckon on the sympathy, if not on the active co-operation of the soldiers. And as demonstration of the King's inflexible obstinacy followed demonstration, it became daily more and more probable that the discontent which pervaded the kingdom would eventually kindle into open resistance.

Before the end of the year, in spite of all his servility in the Court of High Commission, the Earl of Rochester was dismissed from his office because he refused to renounce his religion ; his brother, the Earl of Clarendon, was recalled from Ireland, that Tyrconnel might unite the supreme civil with



the supreme military authority; and their disgrace produced the deeper impression, since it made it evident that even the bonds arising from the closest family ties would be made by James to give way to the one absorbing motive of re-establishing the Papal religion and the Papal authority in the kingdom.

So general and so deep did the indignation and the alarm become, that, by the beginning of 1687, the minds of many began to turn towards William Prince of Orange, who, as a grandson of Charles I., was himself a Prince of the blood royal of England. William had married the King's eldest daughter, the presumptive heiress to the throne; he was known as a Prince of great statesmanlike capacity, and of energetic courage and resolution; and it was reasonable to think that the probability that these kingdoms might eventually become the inheritance of his wife might incline him to take a lively interest in their affairs. It might even be construed as already giving him some right to interfere actively in any case of conspicuous misgovernment, while his principles and opinions, so far as they were known, were in complete harmony with those of the great majority of the nation. As Stadtholder of a republic he could not fail to disapprove of the establishment or exercise of despotic authority; while it was notorious that he was firmly attached to Protestantism, and was averse to all persecution for religious differences. Every circumstance therefore combined to point him out to those who were discontented with the Government as their most suitable ally. And more than one urgent application for his advice or assistance reached the Hague in the first months of the year; some of those who sought it even entreating him at once to cross over to England with an army, and to endeavour by the

display of force to bring back James to more constitutional courses.

But William wisely decided that the pear was not yet ripe, though he began to open communications with some of the leading nobles and statesmen of both parties ; watching the train of events, and giving them as much encouragement in their resolution to uphold the Protestant constitution as could be afforded by their assurance of his sympathy with their objects, and his probable willingness to afford them more material aid should such become indispensable.

He even sent over to England a confidential agent of great sagacity, named Dykvelt, whose ostensible duties were those of envoy from the States of Holland to the British Government, but the real object of whose mission was to gather for the Prince information as to the state of public feeling in England, on which he could place greater reliance than on the representations of members of either party, however zealous, honest, or able. Being a man of great diplomatic address, Dykvelt held frequent intercourse with men of influence of all parties and all sects, whether in or out of Parliament : many even of the Roman Catholics not scrupling to enter into communication with him ; and he gradually learnt that William's informants had not exaggerated either the extent or the degree of the prevailing discontent ; that even those whose especial champion and protector James seemed to be, disapproved of his mode of showing them favour, and that the dissatisfaction was increasing.

## CHAPTER IV.

James tries to gain the Prince of Orange's consent to a general toleration—He issues a Declaration of Indulgence—The Nonconformists declare against the dispensing power—The correspondence between Stewart and Fagel—James dissolves the Parliament—James executes some soldiers for desertion—He attacks the University of Cambridge—Farmer is nominated President of Magdalen College, Oxford—James visits Oxford—The fellows of Magdalen are expelled—James proposes to bequeath Ireland to Louis—Expectation of an heir to the Throne—A Board of regulators is appointed—James issues a second Declaration of Indulgence—Six bishops present a petition to the King.

IN the spring of 1687, it seemed as if James had changed his tactics ; and, having failed to carry his point by threats and prosecutions, had resolved once more to try what address might effect for him. He knew that the Protestants of the Church of England regarded the Protestant Nonconformists with an antipathy little less determined than that which they felt towards the Roman Catholics, and which seemed the more ineradicable since it was combined with something of disdain. He might well believe that the Nonconformists repaid their dislike with interest ; but the zeal which, since his accession, he had shown for elevating his own Church above them both, had had some effect in uniting them. He now conceived that, by a comparatively slight change of policy, he might be able to divide them. When he had first endeavoured to procure the assent of Parliament to

a relaxation of the laws against the Roman Catholics, he had treated with scorn the idea that the Protestant Dissenters had any claim to a similar indulgence; and many, probably the majority, of the Churchmen were equally disinclined to see the laws relaxed in favour of either body.

He now, therefore, adopted the idea that, if he granted relief to both, such an act would secure the gratitude of the Protestant Nonconformists, and widen the breach between them and the Church of England. He even sent the Marquis Alberville over to Holland to endeavour to obtain the sanction of the Prince of Orange to his design; and also wrote to the Prince with his own hand on the subject. But William looked at the interests of Protestantism in general rather than at those of any one sect in particular; and, though he undoubtedly inclined to the doctrines of the Nonconformists rather than to those of the Church of England, he nevertheless had so deep a conviction that the Test Act was the surest bulwark against Popery, that he absolutely refused to concur in the King's project.<sup>1</sup> But opposition never made James flinch; and though the precedent of his brother's reign, when Charles had been compelled to revoke the Declaration of Indulgence which he had issued, could not fail to be fresh in his recollection, he now took upon himself to issue a somewhat similar Declaration; annulling by his own authority the whole

<sup>1</sup> He writes to the King, June 17, 1687, that he had already assured him "qu'il n'y avait personne au monde qui pouvait avoir plus d'aversion  
" que j'avais pour toute sorte de persécution au fait de religion, et qu'assuré-  
" ment je ne voudrais de ma vie y donner les mains; mais aussi je ne  
" pourrais jamais me résoudre à faire quelque chose contraire au bien et à  
" l'intérêt de la religion que je professe; et qu'ainsi je ne puis concourir en ce  
" que votre Majesté désire de moi."—DALRYMPLE, vol. III. Pt. 2, p. 184.

series of statutes, whether imposing tests or penalties, which a succession of Parliaments had enacted for the security of Protestantism.

He could not pretend to fancy that the present Parliament was more disposed to acquiesce in such an encroachment on its powers than its predecessor ; for he had personally canvassed many leading members of both Houses, and, if there had been the slightest hope of obtaining a favourable vote, he would have allowed the Houses to meet again. But the more the Churchmen opposed it, the greater he expected would be the gratitude of the Nonconformists. To his surprise, he found that they were as little inclined to believe in his friendship for themselves, or in the sincerity of his denunciations of religious intolerance, as ever. They remembered the peculiar bitterness with which he had persecuted them both in England and Scotland ; and they distrusted his present parade of moderation. Even in this very Declaration of Indulgence, he avowed his wish to bring back the whole nation to Popery ; and among the professors of Popery he lost no opportunity of showing that his personal preference, if it might not be said his exclusive favour, was reserved for the Jesuits, the most insincere, the most intolerant, and the most unscrupulous of all the Romish brotherhoods.

Accordingly, the great majority of the Nonconformists believed the Indulgence to be but a snare, a cloak to cover his schemes for the advancement of his own religion, which he would himself discard as soon as he had established the Papists in security and ascendancy. Greatly as they valued the permission to build meeting-houses, and to assemble openly in them in broad daylight, their hatred and dread of Popery overpowered even that feeling ; and finally, at a

meeting of the leading Nonconformist ministers, where the whole transaction was elaborately discussed, the majority passed a formal resolution in condemnation of the exercise of the dispensing power.

Nor were the Roman Catholics themselves, who did not belong to the Jesuit order, pleased at what had been done. They were well aware of its illegality. They could have little doubt that, at the King's death, when, to all appearance, the Princess of Orange must succeed to the throne, the Indulgence would be cancelled. They learned from Dykvelt that the Prince himself, in that event, though he would not consent to their admission to offices of State, would not be averse to their obtaining a fair degree of liberty for their exercise of the rites of their religion, and they preferred the prospect of such a toleration to be permanently secured by Parliamentary enactment, to a temporary ascendancy dependent on the life of one elderly man. It is remarkable that among the letters which, on his return to Holland, Dykvelt conveyed to the Prince, was one from Colonel Bellasis, the brother of the Roman Catholic peer to whom, on Rochester's disgrace, James had given the white staff of the Lord Treasurer, and in it the colonel professes as absolute a devotion to the Prince and Princess, which he puts upon the fact of their being members of the royal family, as was avowed by the most zealous Protestant.

Indeed, the Roman Catholics were not long left without something more formal to trust to than the diplomatic language of Dykvelt, necessarily vague, however far it might be authorized, or however unlikely to be disavowed. James had been highly displeased at the Prince's refusal to express any approval of his Declaration of Indulgence; and was disposed to catch at any expedient which might bring William

to a more compliant temper. Fagel, the Grand Pensionary of the States, stood high in the Prince's confidence ; and a Scotchman named Stewart, who had for some years resided in Holland, and had become intimate with the Grand Pensionary, held out a hope to the King that he might induce that statesman to work on the Prince and Princess. James gladly sanctioned his writing Fagel an elaborate letter, full of arguments and entreaties, to persuade them to support him in the policy which he had adopted ; and Fagel replied in another, which was evidently intended as a manifesto of their views on the state of affairs in England. It was most carefully and skilfully worded so as to conciliate all sects by its denunciation of the idea of punishing any subject whatever for his religious opinions ; nor, though it proceeded to draw a distinction between penalties and disabilities or exclusion from office, which had no validity or foundation in common sense, did that part of it alienate even those who were likely to be affected by it, since the spirit of the age fully recognized the existence of such a difference.

The letter was translated into English and more than one Continental language, and was widely circulated ; 50,000 copies are said to have been sold in England alone, and it had the unusual effect of pleasing all religious parties except the Jesuits, who surrounded and governed James himself ; all the more moderate Roman Catholics being abundantly satisfied by the assurance that, whenever, or as far as ever William should have an influence in the Government, they would be allowed the free exercise of their religion, and every other indulgence which did not include official or political power.

Yet so strange was James's blindness, that every fresh



demonstration of the strength and universality of the feeling which animated his subjects on the question of Popery only seemed to make him more resolute to defy it. On one occasion he held a Court for the express purpose of receiving the Pope's Nuncio with unusual state, organizing a magnificent procession for his escort, and dismissing from their employments some of the first nobles in the State, who, pleading their fear of breaking the law of the land, refused to bear a part in it. He would show them, he said, that he was above the law. At another time he publicly prostrated himself before the Nuncio, and on his knees besought his blessing. And finally, in July, 1687, he dissolved the Parliament, which hitherto had only been prorogued from time to time; thus, as the dissolution was not followed by any announcement of an intention to call another, indicating not obscurely, as was generally thought, a determination for the future to dispense with Parliaments altogether.

And this belief grew the stronger when it was found that the King was preparing for a fresh violation of the law, in a matter in which religion was in no degree concerned; but which showed a resolution to render himself absolutely despotic, to make himself really above the law, as he had boasted to the Duke of Somerset. As yet there was no Mutiny Act; indeed, it was only very lately that there had been anything like a standing army. But James still clung to the idea of overawing London by the troops encamped at Hounslow; and, to do this, it was indispensable that he should first be able to overawe the troops themselves. The nearness of the camp to London tempted many to desert, and the common law made no difference between a soldier who quitted his standard



and any other hired servant who left his employment without notice. James resolved to treat desertion as a capital crime, and to procure the condemnation of deserters by the ordinary tribunals. Several of the judges, and even Chief Justice Herbert, who had sufficiently shown his willingness to strain the law to the utmost to do the King a pleasure, refused to be made tools of for such a purpose. They were dismissed; lawyers of the lowest professional reputation and worst private character, one of whom at least was a Roman Catholic, were raised to the bench; and before this packed and profligate Court several soldiers were prosecuted for desertion, convicted, condemned, and hung in front of their regiments.

At the same time the King made a fresh attack upon the Universities; in their case, no longer scrupling, as he had scrupled in the case of the Bishop of London, to trample on the law which protected every individual in the enjoyment of his freehold. At Cambridge, no preferment was as yet vacant, so there he was compelled for a time to content himself with ordering the Senate to confer degrees, to which no one could be admitted without taking the oath of supremacy, on Roman Catholics who were certain to refuse it; and, when his mandate was disobeyed, he summoned the Vice-Chancellor of the University before his High Commission Court, and deprived him of his office.<sup>1</sup> But at Oxford, circumstances were more favourable to his designs. There, in March, 1687, the President of Magdalen College, reputed to be the richest foundation in the two Universities,

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay, vol. II., p. 280, says he was also deprived of his mastership, but Burnet says expressly that he was not: "All that was thought fit to be done against him was to turn him out of his office. That was but an annual office, and of no profit."—p. 698.

died, and James at once sent down an order to the Fellows to elect Antony Farmer in his stead, a man of the most infamous character, and one who had not even the formal but indispensable qualification of having ever been a Fellow. But his vices and his want of legal qualification, were alike effaced in the eyes of the King by his recent conversion to Popery.

The Fellows could not obey the royal mandate to elect such a man without a flagrant violation of their oaths ; and, though some proposed to postpone the election, the majority more manfully resolved to obey their statutes, and, having elected one of the most eminent members of their body, John Hough, at once installed him in his post. James was furious. He summoned the Fellows before the High Commission Court, when Jefferies, after his wont, heaped insult as well as threats upon them ; but they brought such evidence of the infamy of Farmer's character, that even that Court had not the boldness to sustain his nomination. James issued a new mandate, enjoining them to elect a clergyman named Parker, whom he had recently created Bishop of Oxford, and who was known to be so inclined to Popery, or rather, so indifferent to all religion, that he would willingly have professed himself a Papist, had he been unmarried. But Parker's election was impossible, because the Presidency was no longer vacant. Hough had been legally inducted, and could not legally be deprived. But the King was resolved to carry his point in spite of all obstacles. In September he came himself to Oxford, summoned the Fellows before him, threatened them, reviled them, employed agents to bribe or cajole them ; and when all these methods failed, he sent down a Special Commission, with Wright, whom he had made Chief Justice in

the place of Herbert, at its head, to hold a visitation of the college. The Commissioners were supported by a body of cavalry, and after giving Hough and the fellows a brief hearing, in which again threats and personal insult were not spared, they deposed Hough from his Presidency, broke open the doors of his house with iron bars, and gave Parker admission.

A few weeks afterwards, the whole body of Fellows and scholars was expelled; the High Commission Court, by a decree as illegal as any that they had ever issued, declared them for ever incapable of receiving any Church preferment; and, when, a few weeks later, Bishop Parker died, he was replaced by a Roman Catholic prelate, the vacant Fellowships were given to a number of friars, and the great college was turned into a Papist seminary. And, if these acts were hard to be borne, the language used by those who were known to be in the King's confidence aggravated the rising discontent; for, when it was urged that such open attacks on the Church of England were inconsistent with the King's promises, Albeville replied that kings had a right to forget their promises, and that the Church of England itself should have no existence at all in two years' time.

James was indeed plotting against something more than the Church. He was meditating a blow at the integrity of the Empire itself. Some of his advisers had proposed to him to disinherit his eldest daughter, the Princess of Orange, and to bequeath the Crown to the younger, Princess Anne, if she would change her religion; or, if she should prove unmanageable, to leave the appointment of his successor to Louis XIV., in case that sovereign should survive him. It is doubtful how far he had listened to such counsels,

though the French Ambassador thought his adoption of some plan to secure a Roman Catholic successor by no means improbable ; but it is quite certain that he was preparing to undo the recent settlement of the forfeited lands of Ireland on Protestants, and, after re-establishing the old Irish in their former possessions, to detach the island altogether from England after his own death, and place it under the protection of the King of France, when all such ideas were suddenly interrupted by the Queen's announcement that she was again likely to become a mother.

Queen Mary had had four children, a son and three daughters, who had all died in their infancy ; but as five years had elapsed since the birth of the last, people had, not very reasonably, concluded that all prospect of her ever giving an heir to the throne had gone by ; and now the declaration that there was ground for such a hope was received with general incredulity. The Jesuits were known to be fertile in expedients, and unscrupulous ; nor could any one acquainted with the past history of the order think it inconsistent with their avowed principles to treat any fraud as pardonable that might assist in the bringing back of such a kingdom as that of Britain under the Pope's authority. The exulting language held by the more zealous Roman Catholics was calculated to strengthen the suspicion. They spoke of the Queen's pregnancy as the result of the miraculous interposition of the Virgin. They predicted with absolute certainty that the expected infant would prove a son (obviously because the birth of a daughter would not have affected the Princess Mary's right of succession), and the case was compared to the promise of Isaac to Sarah, and of Samuel to Hannah, till they gave the multitude no slight grounds for a belief that there was a design to foist a sup-

posititious child on the nation as its future King ; that, in all probability, the whole story of an expected birth was false, but that if it should be true, and if the infant should prove a daughter, an exchange would be contrived.

James's elation at the hope thus held out to him was not, however, without alloy. The birth of a son would render it indispensable for him to summon a new Parliament, because the appointment of a Regent would become instantly necessary, and that could only be made by the formal act of the whole Legislature. Yet such a House of Commons as the people was likely to elect in the existing state of feeling was sure to place the Regency in Protestant hands, probably in those of the Prince of Orange. It was equally certain that the House of Lords would show the same disposition. With them, however, the King could deal by his own authority. It was indisputable not that he had an unlimited right to create peers, but it was equally easy to pack a House of Commons. A large proportion of the representatives were returned by municipal corporations, the members of which were all Churchmen, and notoriously hostile to all the recent measures of the Court. In the county elections, the magistrates and officers of militia had great influence, and they were well known to be animated, for the most part, by similar feelings.

Before a compliant House of Commons could be reckoned on, it was necessary to remodel corporations, bench of justices, and militia ; and James made public proclamation of his intention in the Gazette, hoping probably that the openness and distinctness of the announcement might in some instances have the effect of intimidating resistance. No one was to be retained in any post or office who would not bind himself to support the

King's policy. A Board of Regulators, as it was called, was appointed, of whom, with the exception of the infamous Lord Chancellor, every one was a Papist, to remodel the corporations. The Lords-Lieutenant were ordered to address a set of queries to all the civil or military officers of the different counties, inquiring whether, if returned to Parliament, they would support the policy of the Court for the removal of all religious disabilities, or whether they would support candidates pledged to such a course.<sup>1</sup> Nor was this all. They were also commanded to report "what Catholics and what Dissenters were fit to be added either to the list of the Deputy-Lieutenants or to the Commission of the Peace," though it was notorious that, till the Test Act should be repealed, not one such person could legally receive either commission.

But these inquisitorial devices of tyranny completely and equally failed. The greater part of the Lords-Lieutenant refused to carry out the King's order ; and, when they were in consequence dismissed, and those by whom they were replaced, being mostly Roman Catholics, obeyed and circulated the questions which they had been enjoined to ask, they found the spirit of disapproval of the King's policy almost universal. The Protestants declared that they would do their utmost to obey and gratify the King in everything which did not touch their religion, but they would go no further ; while even the Roman Catholic gentry in the different counties were jealous of the Jesuits, and still more jealous of the French and Irish aid on which James was understood to place his chief reliance ; and though many of them did consent to take the posts offered to them, and to be made sheriffs or magistrates, they declared that they would do

<sup>1</sup> The questions are given in Dalrymple, III. 223.

their duty as honest Englishmen, and steadily refused to make themselves parties to any plans for tampering with purity of election.

Nor were the regulators of the corporations more successful. Towards the end of the last reign, when the discovery of the Mealtub and Rye House Plots had strengthened the Government, the ministers had taken proceedings against many of the most important corporations, and had found no difficulty in obtaining from the servile judges sentences that they had forfeited their charters. New charters had been granted, in which the old Whig magistrates had been superseded by Tories, and which had also reserved to the Crown a power of dismissing all future municipal officers at pleasure. The existing magistrates were now found as resolute as Whigs could have been in resisting every new indulgence to Popery. They were turned out and replaced by Nonconformists; but though the abolition of the penal laws, which was avowed to be James's principal object, would have been as great a boon to them as to the Papists, they were as unwilling as before to purchase it at the price of sharing it with those whom they regarded as enemies, both of the Reformation and of the independence of the whole kingdom; and the regulators were forced to report to the King that, until the existing charters were annulled, there was no prospect of bringing the citizens of one single considerable town in the whole kingdom to compliance with his Majesty's views; while, to procure a fresh forfeiture of all the municipal charters in the kingdom, must evidently require more time than the present exigency would allow.

The King resolved to try another expedient. Though the reception of his former Declaration of Indulgence had not been very encouraging, at the end of April, 1688, he



issued a second, in which the dispensation from all penal statutes on account of religious differences was accompanied by warnings, threats, and exhortations to obedience. He proclaimed to all his subjects that he was not a man to depart from his resolutions; he reminded them that he had already dismissed from their employments those who had refused to support and obey him; he threatened that he would constantly pursue the same system, and employ no one who was not unreserved in his submission to his will; and, finally, giving notice that a Parliament would certainly be summoned before the end of the year, he required all electors to be careful to return no representatives but those who should be agreeable to him, and who should have promised to conform to his wishes. And, that no one might plead ignorance of his intentions, he, a few days afterwards, issued an Order in Council enjoining the officiating ministers of every parish in the kingdom to read the Declaration in the course of divine service on two successive Sundays.

The whole body of the clergy was violently agitated by the receipt of such an order. To disobey their Sovereign was against the principles which they were in the habit of most zealously inculcating from their pulpits, and, even had it not been so, the restored Court of High Commission was a formidable engine of terror to restrain them from any inclination to disobedience. On the other hand, they could not doubt that the Declaration, which they were enjoined to read, was contrary to the law. They looked anxiously for a word of guidance from their Bishops, but the period between the promulgation of the Order in Council and the first Sunday fixed for the reading of the Declaration was under a fortnight, and in those days communication between the different parts of the kingdom was slow and uncertain. The



Primate, Archbishop Sancroft, invited the Bishops of his province to meet him at Lambeth and take counsel on the emergency ; but it was not till Friday, the 18th of May, that even a few of them were able to meet, and the King's command had named the 20th as the first of the Sundays on which the Declaration was to be read in the metropolitan parishes.

Some of the most eminent of the London parochial clergy were also invited to aid their deliberations, and eventually it was decided that the Prelates who were present, they were but seven, should at once draw up a petition to the King, which, while it should express the firmest loyalty and fidelity to the throne, disown every notion of intolerance and persecution, and even avow a willingness to exert their legislative power as members of the House of Peers to relax those laws which pressed too heavily on freedom of conscience, should at the same time affirm, though in the most respectful language, that the Parliament in the late King's reign had pronounced the illegality of such a Declaration of Indulgence as had now been promulgated, and that therefore they, as Bishops of the Church, could not conscientiously instruct their clergy to publish such an instrument in the house of God and during divine service.<sup>1</sup> The petition was drawn out, signed, and the same evening, Sancroft himself being too unwell to leave his palace, the six suffragans placed it in James's hands at Whitehall.

<sup>1</sup> The Prelates who signed this petition were Sancroft, the Primate, and Bishops Lloyd, of St. Asaph; Turner, of Ely; Lake, of Chichester; Ken, of Bath and Wells; White, of Peterborough; and Trelawney, of Bristol. Compton, Bishop of London, attended the Conference, but, as he had been suspended by the High Commission Court, it was thought better that he should not add his signature.

The King's surprise was equal to his indignation. He had been aware of the Bishops' meeting, but he had been led by Cartwright, whom he had lately made Bishop of Chester, and who was not without hopes of succeeding to York, in preference to Bishop Sprat, if he could only retain his favour, to believe that they were disposed to obey if they could only obtain from him some slight modification of the Declaration; and this respectful but uncompromising remonstrance came upon him like a thunderclap. He instantly began to reproach and threaten them in the fiercest terms; their memorial was "a standard of rebellion;" they were "trumpeters of sedition." He "would keep the paper and remember that they had signed it;" "God had given him the dispensing power, and he would maintain it." And he drove them from his presence with reproaches for their ingratitude after "he had been such a friend to their Church," and with reiterated commands to return at once to their dioceses, and there to take care that his orders were carried out.

The result showed him that he had reckoned too confidently on the principle of passive obedience, which he rightly believed that many of the Episcopal clergy professed, but which even they would not weigh against their higher duty to the Protestant religion, which they regarded as at stake. On the 20th of May, not more than three or four clergymen in all the metropolitan parishes read the Declaration; some went still further, and openly<sup>1</sup> preached against it. The next Sunday it was equally passed over; while the

<sup>1</sup> One curate, afterwards conspicuous from the celebrity of his sons John and Charles, Samuel Wesley, took for his text, "Be it known unto thee, O King, that we will not serve the gods, nor worship the golden image which thou hast set up."

Nonconformist ministers, to whom the King's mandate had of course not been addressed, made the cause of their brethren of the Established Church their own; the most celebrated and influential of the whole body, Richard Baxter, even introducing the subject in a sermon, and pronouncing a warm panegyric on the petitioning Bishops from the pulpit. The King was full of anger and perplexity; he took counsel with his chief advisers, and the variety of the suggestions which he received showed how serious was the dilemma into which his contempt for all authority but his own had brought him.

It was evidently impossible to proceed against the whole body of the clergy, while there was no doubt that on the next two Sundays the example of those in London would be followed in the rural parishes. But the Bishops, who by their petition might be said to have put themselves forward as the leaders of the movement, were few in number, and it might be easier for him to wreak his vengeance on them. Some advised him to cite them before the High Commission Court, which might suspend them or even deprive them of their Sees. But it was almost certain that the House of Lords would refuse to acknowledge the power of that Court to deprive a Bishop of his peerage; others, including the Lord Treasurer, the Roman Catholic Lord Bellasis, and even Lord Sunderland, who was preparing to give the last proof of his baseness by renouncing his religion and professing himself a Roman Catholic, advised moderation, recommending the King to issue a proclamation reproaching the Bishops with disloyalty and narrow-mindedness, but announcing that from recollection of the former dutifulness of the Church, and from respect for freedom of conscience, he would forbear to punish them.

But the counsellor on whom James most relied was Jefferies. His voice was sure to be given for whatever was most violent and bitter, and he easily persuaded the King to regard the Bishops' petition as a seditious libel, and to prosecute the Primate and his six suffragans before the Court of King's Bench for having published it. He had no doubt that a conviction might be ensured, and that the judges, who now scarcely ever made even a pretence of independence, would pass heavy sentences of fine and imprisonment on them.

## CHAPTER V.

The Bishops are committed to the Tower—Birth of the Prince of Wales—General disbelief in his genuineness—Trial of the Bishops—Argument of Somers—The Bishops are acquitted—An invitation is sent to the Prince of Orange—Cautious conduct of William—The great difficulties of an invasion—Condition and constitution of the Dutch Republic—The state of affairs in other continental countries—James becomes more violent—Prepares to proceed against the Clergy—Impolicy of Louis in offending the Pope and the Emperor—William cultivates the English nobles, and conciliates the Roman Catholic Princes—The States of Holland approve of the invasion of England—James receives intelligence of William's design—He tries conciliatory measures.

ON the 8th of June, Sancroft and his colleagues were summoned before the Privy Council, where, while Jefferies interrogated and threatened them with his usual insolence, they properly declined to answer ; but, when the King himself laid his commands on them to reply to the questions put to them, then, not to be wanting in personal respect to his Majesty, they owned their signatures to the petition, and the fact that they had themselves presented it to the King. Jefferies at once announced to them that they should be prosecuted in the Court of King's Bench, and when, standing on their privilege as peers, they refused to give bail, signed a warrant committing them to the Tower.

The impolicy of such a step became apparent the moment after it had been taken. The excitement in London had been very great ever since it had been known that the

Bishops were before the Council, but, when the intelligence got abroad that they were to be imprisoned, it became unrestrainable and universal. The Thames was still the highway from Westminster to the Tower, and the citizens in thousands flocked to the banks, thronged the streets which led to the river, mounted even to the roofs of the houses to obtain a view of them as they passed, or, taking boats, escorted them down the stream, invoking blessings on their heads; their feelings being shared by the very soldiers on guard at the old fortress; even the rude troopers threw themselves on their knees before the Prelates as they passed through the gates, reverently asked their blessing, and, in spite of the menaces of the Lieutenant of the Tower, the same Sir Edward Hales whose mock trial had been one of the King's earliest blunders, drank their healths in military fashion through the night.

So universal a demonstration of the popular feeling might well have induced the most headstrong despot to pause. It did make the King's councillors waver; and two days afterwards an event occurred which, in the eyes even of those who had been most forward in counselling violent measures, afforded James an opportunity of retracing his steps with dignity and grace.

On the morning of the 10th, the Queen was safely delivered of a son, and it was represented to James that so joyful an occurrence might well be made a pretext for a political amnesty: that it would be a good omen for the infant Prince himself that his birth should be the occasion of releasing such illustrious prisoners. But the heart of James was as callous as his understanding, and, as the one was incapable of taking warning from indications which were plain enough to every one else, so the other was

too hard to be softened by prosperity, even by the fulfilment of his most cherished and anxious desire. He could only answer that his purpose to go on was inflexibly fixed; that his father had been ruined by his concessions, and that he himself had hitherto been too indulgent; and on the 15th the Bishops were brought into Court at Westminster before the judges. An information was exhibited against them by the Attorney-General, and, when they had pleaded "Not Guilty," they received notice that their trial was fixed for the 29th.

Even had James been able to bring his mind to pardon his prisoners, he would have required to be prompt in his decision, for in a day or two all opportunity of doing so gracefully had passed away. As has been already mentioned, when the Queen's pregnancy was first announced, it was received with a very general incredulity; and now, the ill-will of the nation being perhaps sharpened by the severity with which the Bishops were treated, the belief in an imposture having been committed gained ground hourly. The birth had been attended by suspicious circumstances. On former occasions the Queen had proved incorrect in her calculations;<sup>1</sup> and so it happened in this instance that she was confined two or three weeks before she had expected. And with singular wrongheadedness, when her time came, James abstained from summoning as witnesses any of those nobles on whose testimony the people would have been inclined to place confidence, so that at the critical moment scarcely any were present but Roman Catholics; men and women whose evidence to the genuineness of the child was worse than no

<sup>1</sup> See Miss Strickland's "*Life of Mary of Modena*," p. 149. The Queen had miscalculated a fortnight when her fourth child was born; "before the witnesses whose presence was deemed necessary could be summoned."

evidence at all, since they were the very people who were believed to have planned an imposture, and to have the greatest interest in carrying it out. The King wrote with his own hand to the Prince of Orange to announce the birth to him : and William at once despatched an envoy to England with his formal congratulations ; but the envoy on reaching London sent back word that scarcely any one believed that the Queen had had a child at all ; and a day or two later<sup>1</sup> the Princess Anne, who a short time before had gone to Bath intending to be back in time, wrote a long letter to the Princess Mary, her sister, in which she gave full expression to her own doubts on the subject, adding that, where one person did not share them a thousand did.

After the Bishops had pleaded, they had been set at liberty on their own recognizances, but the excitement had not been allayed by their temporary release. On the contrary, it spread to the most distant parts of the kingdom, to Cornwall, in the extreme South-west, for Trelawney, Bishop of Bristol, and one of the seven, was of the oldest and purest blood in that Royal Duchy ; in the North, it was felt even beyond the borders, the Presbyterians of Scotland displaying as warm an interest as the Episcopalians in the fate of those whom they now regarded as the champions of their common Protestantism, and of every principle of British freedom.

Meanwhile, both sides prepared for the trial. The ministers were sufficiently confident of the result, for, of the judges who were to try the case, two, Chief Justice Wright, and Judge Holloway, were notorious for their servility, to

<sup>1</sup> The date of the Princess's letter is the 18th of June.—See DALRYMPLE, vol. III., p. 303.



which indeed they owed their seats on the bench ; a third, Allybone, was a Roman Catholic, and was bound, as it were, to uphold by his judgment the legality of the dispensation to which the Bishops had objected ; while the fourth, Powell, the only one who had the slightest reputation for ability or honesty, had shown on the trial of Sir Edward Hales that he feared to incur the displeasure of the Crown. But, not contented with these chances in their favour, the ministers also took especial pains to pack a jury. And James even condescended to summon before himself and Jefferies the Clerk of the Crown, whose duty it was to frame the panel, and to give him instructions how to perform his duty. The Bishops' reliance was on the justice of their cause and the ability of their counsel, far superior to that of the Crown lawyers ; for of those who had been Attorney or Solicitor-General all the ablest had been dismissed, one after another, for their refusal to be made instruments for the violation of the law instead of its execution ; and some of them were now the leaders for the defence.

On the appointed day, the memorable 29th of June, the trial took place, the most momentous, with but one exception, that Westminster had ever beheld ; and exceeding even that in the dense number and the dignity of the spectators who crowded every corner of, and avenue to, the Court ; listening with anxiety, as breathless as if their own fate had depended on the issue, to every argument, and question and answer, and often displaying, with very irregular manifestations of feeling, their opinions of some of the Crown witnesses. For a time, there seemed a probability that the charge against the Bishops might break down on a technical point. It was not at first easy to prove their handwriting. When that had been established it was even more difficult to

find a witness to prove that, as it was laid in the indictment, they had published it in Middlesex. But at last one of the Clerks of the Privy Council swore that he had been present when, at the King's command, they acknowledged their handwriting; and Lord Sunderland proved that they had delivered the petition to the King at Whitehall, which, according to the argument of the Crown lawyers, was, in the eye of the law, a publication.

And thus the case was at last put into a position to be argued on its merits; and those merits were little less than the whole Constitution of England. For the question, as even James would have put it, was, whether the King's prerogative were absolutely unlimited; whether he could dispense at his sole pleasure with laws deliberately enacted by Parliament; and whether it were a crime, even in Peers of Parliament, to petition him to reconsider and withdraw an edict which he had once issued. These were, in truth, momentous questions, on the answer to be given to which the whole system of English law and English liberty was at stake. The cause of the Bishops was the cause of the whole nation; and it was maintained by their counsel with an ability and courage which did honour to the whole profession. Most of them were men of well-established celebrity; Pemberton had been Chief Justice in the reign of Charles II., and had been dismissed by that shameless monarch on account of his refusal to be made a tool for the oppression of innocent men. Sawyer and Finch had been recently dismissed from the offices of Attorney and Solicitor-General for the same fault, the most unpardonable of all in the eyes of a tyrant, a want of servility; another, Sir G. Treby, had been Recorder of London; a fifth, Pollexfen, had long been leader of the Western

Circuit. All did their duty to their clients manfully and ably.

But the brightest laurels were won by the youngest of the whole body, a barrister named Somers, whose Whig opinions had hitherto kept him from all preferment, but who was known to all his professional brethren as one of the soundest lawyers in Westminster Hall, and especially trustworthy on all constitutional questions. He took the indictment to pieces, word by word, subjecting it with merciless logic to every test of truth and of law. The Bishops were indicted for having published a false, malicious, seditious libel tending to the defaming of the King's Government, and the Crown lawyers had contended that, even if the matter of the petition were true in fact, it might nevertheless be a libel ; and that, though the two Houses of Parliament had a right to petition the King, they had no such right when they were not sitting ; much less had any individual members of either House such a right ; and that the votes of the two Houses in the late reign, since they had never been embodied in any formal bill, were not of any validity to restrain the King in the exercise of the dispensing power. But Somers scattered these arguments to the winds by reference to the journals of the Parliament, and to the record which they contained, that Charles II. had, in deference to the vote of the Houses, cancelled the Indulgence of which they had complained. He proved, in a similar way, that Peers had a right of access and petition to the King at any time ; that the paper presented to the King was no libel, but a legitimate petition founded on the established and recognized laws of the realm ; and that the placing of it privately in the King's hands was neither a seditious nor a malicious act, but the most loyal method of proceeding which could be taken,

at once to avoid scandal, or any defamation of the King's Government, and at the same time to maintain the law.

The case was so clear, and the arguments so irresistible, that even the judges, on whom the Court had reckoned with the greatest confidence, dared not wholly to fulfil its expectations. All the leading Peers were among the audience; their House was the supreme court for the trial of impeachment; to quote the expression of a bystander, the Chief Justice looked as if he thought they all had halters in their pockets; and, in his charge to the jury, he wavered like a man trying to show his impartiality by opinions partly favourable to each side. He agreed with the counsel for the prisoners that they had a right to petition; but, with the counsel for the Crown, affirmed the petition in question to be seditious and libellous. One of his colleagues, Allybone, wholly followed his lead; a third, Holloway, declined to discuss the point how far the King did possess a dispensing power, but pronounced the petition respectful and legal. But the fourth, Judge Powell, boldly denied the existence of a power to dispense with law; pronounced the late Declaration of Indulgence illegal and void, and, as a matter of course, sustained the right of every subject to petition against it.

The trial had not lasted long; the witnesses had been few, and their examination brief; advocates had not yet learned to consider prolixity a merit. Though ten barristers had spoken, and four judges had delivered separate charges, before evening the jury retired to consider their verdict, for which the crowd out-of-doors waited with intense and unparalleled anxiety. Numbers walked about the precincts of the Hall and the adjacent streets the whole night; messengers came across from the Palace every hour to

pick up any intelligence, or rumour of intelligence, that might get abroad, and the Court was full of hope ; for, though the Bishops' counsel had challenged all the most suspicious names on the panel, they had not been able wholly to purify it ; some of the jurymen were Nonconformists, and, as such, suspected of being unfriendly to Bishops in general, and two or three were known to depend on the Government or on the Palace for lucrative employment. The Royal brewer, a man named Michael Arnold, was one of these, and he was said, before the trial, to have complained of his position with comical bitterness. Whatever verdict he might pronounce, he was sure, he said, to be half ruined ; if he said "Not Guilty," he should brew no more for the King ; and if he said "Guilty," he should brew no more for any one else. It was afterwards known that, after all his colleagues had agreed to acquit the Bishops, he had held out for a conviction ; but at last he too yielded to the general feeling of his brother jurors, and to the manifest justice of the case ; and long before the Court met in the morning the requisite unanimity was obtained.

The fact that a verdict was agreed upon had oozed out, but no certain knowledge had been obtained what that verdict was ; and the vast audience which crowded into the Court the moment that the doors were opened waited with anxiety too great for words till the judges took their seats, and the jurors came down from the room in which they had been consulting. It was amid profound and breathless silence that the clerk asked them for their verdict. But the moment that the foreman declared the prisoners not guilty that silence was broken by one universal uproar. The great statesman and orator of the Peers, Lord Halifax, forgot for a moment his habitual calmness ; springing from his

seat, he waved his hat, and, as if they took his gesture for a signal, the whole body of spectators raised a cheer so universal and so loud, that, as one of them has recorded in a diary, it seemed to make the very roof crack. The shouts were re-echoed by those outside in the hall; and, as the tidings reached the crowd beyond, the acclamations conveyed them to the most distant parts of the city more rapidly than any formal messengers; while horsemen rode off eagerly into the country, every one seeking to be the first to spread the joyful intelligence.

The King himself had gone down that morning to the camp at Hounslow, where an express from Lord Sunderland found him. He soon learnt that the very soldiers on whom he had depended sympathized with the citizens. Burning with rage, he was preparing to return to London, when the whole heath resounded with a sudden shouting. He asked what was the tumult: "Nothing," replied his attendant, "but that the soldiers are rejoicing at the acquittal of the Bishops." "Do you call that nothing?" said he; "but so much the worse for them." "So much the worse for them," he kept repeating to himself, and, on his return, vented his rage in acts which he meant to give effect to his words. He dismissed Judges Holloway and Powell from the bench. He issued a proclamation forbidding the citizens to assemble in the streets, or to make any demonstration; but, as if the very display of his wrath had strengthened their conviction of the greatness and substantial value of their triumph, the whole population thronged the thoroughfares; the whole city was lighted up with bonfires and illuminations; rockets were sent up; and, as if to mark more emphatically that the verdict of the morning had been a triumph of

Protestantism over Popery, effigies of the Pope himself, dressed in pontifical robes and crowned with the tiara, were paraded about the city, and solemnly committed to the flames.

As the news reached the provinces, similar exultation was displayed in all the principal cities and towns. James could not for a moment deceive himself as to the universality of the resistance which he had provoked. But the same day which brought the acquittal of the Bishops was signalized by another act of which he was not at first aware, but which was for him of all others the most fatal expression of the feeling of the nation that forbearance and patience had reached their limits. A letter signed in cipher by seven men of great influence, who might be taken as representatives of the most important parties and classes in the State, was transmitted to the Prince of Orange. Those who drew up and signed it were not only leading Whigs, whose disapproval of the King's policy might have been reckoned on, or whose political enmity was sharpened by a sense of personal injury; some were sturdy Tories and Churchmen, with whom non-resistance had long been a favourite article of their political creed, and who had given repeated proofs of personal loyalty and attachment to James and his family.<sup>1</sup>

The letter assured the Prince that "the dissatisfaction of the people with the present conduct of the Government in relation to their religion, liberties, and proper ties, and their fear for the future, was such that nineteen

<sup>1</sup> Those who signed the letter were the Earls of Shrewsbury, Devonshire, and Danby; Bishop Compton; Lord Lumley, who during Monmouth's rebellion had been one of James's most energetic generals; Admiral Russell, and Mr. Henry Sidney, who indeed was not free from suspicion of republicanism.



“ parts out of twenty throughout the kingdom were desirous  
“ of a change, and would willingly contribute to it, if  
“ they had a sufficient protection to countenance their  
“ rising; that the greater part of the nobility were equally  
“ dissatisfied; that they made no question that they could  
“ soon collect a force double that of the army, even if the  
“ army should remain firm to the Court, though they did  
“ on very good grounds believe that the army was divided,  
“ for that very many of the common soldiers showed such  
“ an aversion to the Popish religion that numbers might  
“ be expected to desert; while of the seamen, not one in  
“ ten would stand by the Court. That they feared lest,  
“ if immediate steps were not taken, before another year  
“ the Government would have taken such courses, by  
“ remodelling the army, and tampering with the electoral  
“ body, as would prevent all possible means of relief.” They  
ventured even gently to complain of his having sent congratulations on the birth of the Prince of Wales; assuring him “ that not one person in a thousand believed the child  
“ lately born to be the Queen’s; and that this attempt  
“ falsely to impose a supposititious child upon the Princess  
“ and the nation would be a sufficient reason to justify the  
“ Prince’s entering the kingdom in a hostile manner. For  
“ these and other reasons, they begged the Prince to come  
“ to England before the end of the year with whatever  
“ force, arms, ammunition, and artillery he might judge  
“ necessary; and promised that they who signed this would  
“ not fail to attend upon His Highness at his landing, and  
“ to do all in their power to prepare others.”

The Revolution was begun.

The invitation which was thus sent had not taken the Prince by surprise. It had been in some degree concerted



with him. Ever since he had rejected the previous suggestions which had recommended such a line of action, he had been carefully watching the course of affairs and the state of feeling in England. His friends there had kept him constantly supplied with intelligence : and, on the promulgation of the late Declaration, Admiral Russell had crossed over to the Hague to renew the proposal that he should delay no longer, but should at once interpose in the affairs of the kingdom in the only manner in which interposition could be effectual, by crossing over with an army.

Such advice now coincided with the opinion of William himself ; he too judged that the time had come for him to assert his right to interfere, but he was a man whom the desire to effect an object never blinded to the dangers and difficulties of an undertaking. He felt that, in spite of his connection with the royal family, such an enterprise as that proposed to him could never succeed unless it were extensively supported by men of credit and influence in the kingdom ; while his knowledge of human nature taught him that flattering expressions of general goodwill, and loose verbal promises, might prove, when the hour of trial should come, far too feeble bonds to bind their utterers. Nor had Russell himself, though a bold and able man, such a character for prudence and steadiness as to command implicit confidence from one who had inherited, in the fullest degree, the sobriety of judgment and far-sighted caution which, for many generations, had been among the most marked characteristics of his family.

We have unusual means of knowing William's real sentiments at this and other critical moments during the remainder of his life, from a history of the period left to us by the celebrated Bishop Burnet, a man who was

more deeply in the Prince's confidence than probably any other Englishman, and who was at this time at the Hague, and in daily communication with him. And Burnet relates that, on Russell's arrival, William laid open his views to him more explicitly than he had ever done before ; pointing out to him that the ruin which failure in such an attempt must bring on both England and Holland imposed on him, in honour and conscience, the duty of making every step sure ; and therefore that he should not feel justified in moving till he had received a formal and direct, or, in other words, a written invitation. Russell laid before him the danger of trusting such a secret to great numbers ; the Prince said, if a considerable number of men that might be supposed to understand the sense of the nation best should do it, he would acquiesce in it. And with this answer the Admiral returned to England. The invitation was drawn up and signed. Another Admiral, Herbert, brother of the Chief Justice, who had been member for Dover in the last Parliament, and who in the preceding year had been dismissed from all his posts because he declined to support the proposal for the abolition of the Test Act, undertook the hazardous employment of conveying the letter to Holland : and, few as the signatures were, the position and influence of the writers were sufficient to satisfy the Prince's requirements. He decided on accepting the invitation, and began to make preparations for the expedition, of which he did not disguise from himself the great and various difficulties.

In truth, the enterprise was full of difficulties on every side, difficulties with respect to England, difficulties existing in Holland, difficulties which might be expected to arise from foreign countries. He was well aware that his

friends in England were not limited to the small number that had signed the invitation ; that his project was known to, and was not unfavourably regarded by, statesmen of high rank and reputation, such as the Earl of Nottingham ; that, when he should reach England, he could count on the approval and sanction of more than one Bishop, on the more active co-operation of many military officers ; and among them, and most especially, on that of Lord Churchill, whose pre-eminent abilities were already widely known in the army. But he also knew, with equal certainty, that his attempt was regarded as hopeless by some of the ablest men in the kingdom, such as the Marquis of Halifax, and as impious by some of the most virtuous and conscientious, especially among the clergy.

The most learned divines and most eloquent preachers of the Church of England, since the first breaking-out of the rebellion in the reign of Charles I., had constantly and most unreservedly affirmed the doctrine that no amount of misgovernment in a sovereign could absolve the subject from his allegiance, much less justify armed resistance to his authority ; while, if he were to be accompanied by a Dutch army, as even those who had invited him over considered indispensable, it was to be feared that many who had no conscientious scruples on the score of passive obedience would be roused, by national and patriotic pride, to resist the pretensions of foreign soldiers to expel their native King, and replace him by a foreigner. For, however he might seek to veil his purpose under plausible pretexts and an affected moderation, there can be no question that William, from the first, aimed at the crown, and foresaw that his enterprise, if successful, could only end by placing it on his head.

In his own country the difficulties were even greater, arising partly from the peculiarities of the Dutch Constitution, and partly from the religious divisions which had prevailed in the Dutch provinces ever since the Reformation. Even on the day<sup>1</sup> when the peace of Antwerp secured their civil and religious liberties, the Dutch were not all united on the subject of religion; the great city of Amsterdam, which had been almost the latest convert to Protestantism, having espoused the Arminian doctrines, while Calvinism was the prevailing creed of most of the other cities. Political differences were not long in following. There was an Orange party and a French party, of which, again, Amsterdam was the chief support; the rival Protestant sects hating one another with almost as much bitterness as they hated Papists; and each political party usually regarding the ascendancy of the other as an evil scarcely less to be dreaded than the domination of a foreigner. Yet in the councils of a State thus, to all appearance, irreconcilably divided, absolute unanimity was necessary in every single measure. Not only was the consent of each separate province necessary to every act of the States-General, but the consent of every municipality in each province was indispensable to enable that province to signify its decision. A single town, therefore, however unimportant, had the power to neutralize the vote and counteract the will of all the rest of the nation. Absolute unanimity was indispensable, and, in an undertaking of so novel a character as the invasion of England, absolute unanimity might well have seemed unattainable.

The difficulties which William might anticipate from

<sup>1</sup> The peace with Spain, which was nominally only a truce for twelve years, was signed at Antwerp, January 11th, 1609.

foreign countries were hardly less serious. The most powerful of the neighbours of the United States, the Emperor and the King of France, were Roman Catholics, and it was obvious that the first result of William's success must be the extinction of all the hopes of the Roman Catholics in England; while the ulterior object which he secretly cherished, and which indeed was the temptation which more than any other induced him to desire the throne of England, was the prospect of being thus enabled to form a league against France which might overthrow the ascendancy which Louis XIV. had established over the whole Continent. For, apart from his statesmanlike zeal for the independence of the different European kingdoms, William had a personal quarrel with the rapacious and insolent tyrant who at that time occupied the French throne. One of Louis's first acts, after he was old enough to take upon himself the direction of the Government, had been to overrun and annex to France the little principality of Orange, from which William derived his title. Not one of his aggressions was more unprovoked and wanton, the sole motive for it, apparently, being that Orange was a Protestant state, and, as such, offered a convenient asylum to those Huguenots who, as they found the privileges granted to them by Henry IV. gradually abridged, were often glad to emigrate to a more secure home. William himself was but ten years old, but was old enough to feel deep indignation at being thus stripped of his inheritance, and throughout his life his views of public policy, wise in themselves, were sharpened by his desire to avenge his private wrongs.

Nor was it only that he was thus beset on all sides by the most perplexing difficulties, but they were also of a kind which no efforts of his could overcome without assistance.

Fortunately for himself and for England, that assistance was afforded him by those who alone could give it effectually, by the very objects of his hostility, James and Louis themselves. The King of England, the moment that he had recovered from the shock of the Bishops' acquittal, took step after step to show that his feelings towards the Church of England were but embittered by the event. He now issued an order to the chief officials in each diocese to make a formal report to the High Commission of every clergyman who had omitted to read the Declaration of Indulgence, and, though the report, if made, would have included the names of nineteen-twentieths of the clergy throughout the kingdom, it was understood that he designed to proceed in that most unpopular and illegal Court against every one of them, with the probable result of procuring against them all sentences of deprivation. He invited the Pope to be godfather to the infant Prince of Wales; he renewed his attempts to tamper with the electors, and also with the army; even venturing to adopt measures of manifestly illegal constraint towards the soldiers. Selecting a single regiment for experiment, he instructed the officers to require the men to sign an engagement to aid him in procuring the repeal of the Test Act; the alternative being offered them of quitting the service. With the exception of a very small number, who were all Roman Catholics, the whole regiment at once laid down its arms, and James, unwilling to provoke a similar display in other corps, brought over from Ireland some of the regiments which Lord Tyrconnel had been raising there from among the Roman Catholic peasantry.

No force which could possibly have been collected

would have been sufficient to intimidate ; a single brigade of such troops was sufficient to provoke, and to spread universal indignation ; for the remembrance of the atrocities of O'Neill and his followers was still fresh, and contempt for the Irish nation was largely mingled with resentful detestation. So strong was the feeling that, in the different English regiments, the men refused to admit recruits from Ireland, even the commanding officers protesting against the order to enlist Irishmen as an insult to the army and the nation.

James was thus alienating at the same time the Churchmen, the very body whose abstract principles most bound them to uphold his prerogative, and the soldiery, whose support, in the event of any appeal to force, was even more important ; and he had more than one warning that he might soon have need of all the strength which he could command ; he could not be ignorant of the discontent in his own country, which, as it increased, rapidly became more and more undisguised in its expression. But he received also repeated notices from foreign countries, from France and from Holland, where the preparations of the Prince of Orange, in spite of all the caution and secrecy of his movements, could not fail to excite suspicion. Before the end of July the French envoy at the Hague reported to his Government that the steps which were being taken in Holland could hardly have any object but the invasion of England ; and Louis, displaying even more than his usual vigilance and energy in the cause of a kinsman whose safety was so essential to his own designs, not only tried to intimidate the states of Holland from sanctioning the conduct and designs of their Stadtholder, by formal announcement of the closeness of the alliance which subsisted between



James and himself, but he sent over a confidential minister to England to convey to James the clearest information of all that he had to apprehend, and offers of substantial assistance both by land and sea. Luckily James was at this moment so blinded by his anger, and by his confidence in his ultimate success through the means which he conceived to be in his own hands, that he was rather inclined to take umbrage at Louis's advice than to profit by it. He saw in it a spirit of dictation, to submit to which was inconsistent with his dignity. He publicly denied the existence of the close alliance with France which Louis had proclaimed; he declared that vanity and flattery had turned his cousin's head; and that a King of England was not so insignificant a sovereign as to stand in need of protection, so ostentatious an offer of which was little short of an insult.

And at the same time Louis, in spite of the good advice which he was giving to the King of England, proved himself to be almost equally in need of counsels of prudence and sobriety for his own conduct; and, with singular perversity, selected the very moment when such danger threatened the maintenance of the connection between France and England, which, for his ulterior designs, was as important to himself as to James, to embroil himself with some of the most influential powers of the Continent, and among them with the Estates of Holland, the nation in which, of all others, it would have been easiest to maintain his influence, and in which, at the present crisis, it must be most mischievous to lose it.

His revocation of the Edict of Nantes, three years before, had excited peculiar indignation among the Dutch, because the vicinity of the two countries had tempted many of their fellow-citizens across the frontier to settle in France;



and they had been treated since the revocation with peculiar severity, not even being allowed to return to their native land, if they had obtained letters of naturalization in France. Still more recently, he had imposed increased duties on many articles in which Holland had previously had a profitable trade with France, and had altogether prohibited the importation of others. He picked one quarrel with the Pope, insisting on privileges for his ambassador at Rome which were incompatible with the government and tranquillity of the city, and which every other sovereign had renounced; and he defied and insulted at once the Pope, the Emperor, and the Germanic body, on the subject of the great Archbishopric of Cologne, which happened to be vacant, and into which he endeavoured to force a candidate of his own choice, and one who should be subservient to his will, though the Archbishop was an Elector of the Empire, and though no prince, except those of German blood, could have the very slightest right to interfere in the election. And, finally, in the September of this year, he invaded Germany on the most ridiculous pretexts, of which the rejection of the pretensions of his creature, the Cardinal of Furstenburg, to the Archbishopric was among the most prominent; and by express orders, signed with his own hand, enjoined his marshals to wage the war thus wantonly begun with a ferocity of which, since the dark ages, and the irruptions of the Goths and Huns into Italy, Europe had seen no example.

By all this conduct, of which it is hard to say whether the irritating insolence was more inconsistent with statesmanship, or the vindictive ferocity with humanity, he had just at this moment completely alienated his commercial friends in the United States, and his brother Romanists in

Germany and Italy ; so that the merchants of Amsterdam, long and fierce as had been their hostility to the House of Orange, now learnt to look with favour on the designs of the Prince whose constant object was to pull down the French ascendancy ; and that even the Emperor and the Pope were forced to regard William's Protestantism as fraught with less personal danger and insult to themselves than the Popery of Louis ; and were more inclined to co-operate in than to thwart his enterprise, even though directed to the overthrow of a Roman Catholic sovereign.

Amid such a combination of favourable circumstances, William was not wanting to himself. Of those in England who had invited him to the country, he was already sure ; but in the course of the next few weeks he contrived so completely to inspire others also with confidence that, before the end of August, he had received assurances of assistance from many of the servants in whom James himself placed the most implicit trust, and who were, perhaps, beyond any other men in the kingdom, the most able to further or to frustrate his designs. Especially could he reckon on Lord Sunderland, the holder of two great ministerial offices ; and on Lord Churchill, the most skilful of English generals, whose adhesion was also important in another point of view, from the entire influence which he and his wife had over the councils of the Princess Anne. To the Roman Catholic princes on the Continent he was of course unable to make any precise revelation of his schemes ; but he secured their general goodwill by the full assurances which he gave them of his desire and resolution, in all the reforms which he hoped to see established in England, that the most complete toleration for every exercise of their religion should be secured to the Roman Catholics

in every part of the United Kingdom ; while his known hostility to Louis, which needed no declaration on his part, was in fact a still greater recommendation to princes who had good reason to look on that sovereign as the common enemy of all.

And during the summer of 1688 this feeling extended so rapidly over the whole Continent, that, when at last William opened his plan in detail to the Dutch Estates, and requested their sanction to his contemplated enterprise, even the Council of Amsterdam, which, from the very establishment of the national independence, had been the resolute antagonist of his family, was ashamed to oppose him. An armed expedition to England was unanimously approved. The raising of a large loan to provide him with funds was voted with equal cordiality ; the consent of the States being so ratified by the enthusiasm of the people that the money required was contributed in four days.

Meantime James had been conducting himself with a strange mixture of arrogance and supineness ; receiving all warnings of the proceedings in Holland with contemptuous indifference, and showing similar disdain for the cautions which some even of his previously obsequious tools in England ventured to address to him on the subject of his open disregard for the laws and feelings of the nation. At last, about the beginning of October, a sudden change came over him. He received from Albeville, his Envoy at the Hague, intelligence, which he could no longer doubt, that an invasion of England was not only decided on, but was ready to sail ; and, in a moment passing from the height of confidence to the extremity of fear, he tried to avert the danger by concessions, conciliating measures, and speeches

which he hoped would in an instant efface all recollection of three years' violence and lawlessness.

He did not, indeed, renounce the dispensing power, but he issued a proclamation promising to protect the Church of England. He abandoned the demand for the repeal of the Test Act; he removed the suspension which had been pronounced against the Bishop of London, and replaced the magistrates and other officers who had been dismissed; he restored the charters of the different corporations; he abolished the Court of High Commission, and even condescended to lay before an extraordinary council, consisting of all the most eminent men in the kingdom who were within reach of London, proofs of the birth of his son, which all present admitted to be conclusive and irresistible. But this conduct, which, if adopted earlier, might have prevented any idea of such an enterprise as William's from being ever entertained, was of no avail now, either to change the Prince's determination, or to appease the irritation and distrust of those who had invited him, while, by a peculiar ill-fortune which at this moment seemed to attend all his measures, one or two accidental circumstances which happened just as intelligence arrived that the Dutch fleet had been driven back to its native shores in a storm, created a general belief that the news of its disaster had prompted James to change the policy which he had just announced, and to resume his former line of bigotry and severity.

## CHAPTER VI.

William sets sail for England—Circulates a manifesto giving his reasons for the expedition—William lands in Devonshire—Embarrassment and agitation of the King—Men of influence gradually join the Prince—Lord Cornbury joins William—Risings in favour of the Prince take place in many parts of the kingdom—James leaves London for Salisbury, and William advances from Exeter—Lord Churchill deserts James—Flight of the Princess Anne—James returns to London—Debate in the Council—Lord Dartmouth refuses to convey the Prince of Wales to France—Writs are issued for a new Parliament.

WILLIAM had set sail from Helvoet-Sluis on the 19th of October; but, after being a few hours at sea, had been driven back by a violent storm, in which the whole fleet was scattered; one ship was driven with her crew on the English coast, and many others were severely damaged. But the injuries were soon repaired; and by the end of the month, the armament was re-equipped. November opened eventfully. On All Saint's Day,<sup>1</sup> a favourite divine, Father Gaillard, was preaching before Louis at Versailles, when the great War Minister, Louvois, suddenly interrupted the service, by bringing to the King a despatch, announcing the capture of the important fortress of Philipsbourg by the Dauphin. The King stopped the sermon, announced

<sup>1</sup> See Madame de Sevigné's Letter to Madame de Grignon, dated November 3rd, 1688. See the Author's "History of France under the Bourbons," II. p. 294.

the triumph aloud to the congregation, and offered up an extemporaneous prayer of thanksgiving; and then the preacher, being allowed to resume his discourse, so improved the occasion with a description of the visible favour shown by the Almighty to the King and all his enterprises, that the whole congregation was dissolved in tears.

The success, such as it was, was abundantly counter-balanced. The wind, which throughout nearly the whole of October had blown from the south-west, had suddenly shifted to the east, the Protestant wind, as for the last fortnight the citizens of London had been calling it in their prayers, and before sunset on the same 1st of November, his persevering enemy, the Prince of Orange, again put to sea, at the head of probably the most numerous fleet which had ever been seen in the British Channel. More than fifty men-of-war escorted above 500 transports, conveying 5,000 cavalry, 11,000 infantry, about half of which were English regiments, which had for some time been in the service of the States; and with them many English and Scotch nobles, who had joined the Prince within the last few weeks, the Earl of Shrewsbury, the Earl of Macclesfield, the Earl of Argyll, the Earl of Winchester, and others, some of whom had brought money, which they had raised by mortgages on their estates, to aid the enterprise. So eagerly did the Dutch enter into the attempt, that they even dismantled their fortresses to supply the army with artillery, and retained but twelve men-of-war for the defence of their coasts.

There had been a great discussion in William's Council, what should be the point of destination. Lord Danby had recommended some Yorkshire port, because his influence was greatest in that district; but Herbert had objected to

keep the fleet off that coast during the winter, and eventually William resolved to endeavour to land in Yorkshire, and then to send the fleet round to the Channel.<sup>1</sup> William himself led the way in the "Brill" frigate, at the topmast of which his flag bore the arms of England and Nassau, with his hereditary motto, "I will Maintain," lengthened by the addition of the words, "The Liberties of England and the Protestant Religion." But the fleet was under the command of the English Admiral Herbert, the same officer who, in June, had undertaken the dangerous enterprise of conveying him the invitation.

The Dutch sailors had not consented without some reluctance to serve under a foreign commander, who also belonged to the nation with which, in the course of the last thirty years, they had been engaged in such frequent and fierce struggles; but William, whose policy was by all means to avoid a battle if possible, conceived that, if he should meet the English fleet, Herbert's influence with the British sailors might very probably avert an engagement; while, if a battle should prove inevitable, his success, if he should succeed, would be less mortifying to English pride for being achieved by their own countryman. Of the army, William himself was Commander-in-

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay represents the northward course taken by the fleet on first leaving harbour to have been only a feint to deceive the English light vessels which Lord Dartmouth had sent to watch it; but I have preferred to follow Burnet, who was in the fleet, and can hardly have been mistaken as to William's design. He reports the discussion which took place in the Prince's Council on the subject, and then proceeds to say: "The Prince was resolved to have split the matter and to have landed in the north, and then to have sent the fleet to lie in the Channel" (p. 778); and (p. 787) affirms that it was only the impossibility, on the 1st of November, of making head against the wind so as to get to the north, that ultimately led to the landing in Devonshire.



Chief; the second in command was the French Marshal Schomberg, who, being a Protestant, had been driven from the service of Louis by the revocation of the Edict of Nantes; and who was expected to be almost as acceptable in England as a native, being recommended to the English partly by the sacrifices which he had made for the sake of religion, and partly by an intimate acquaintance with their language; and also by his friendship with many of the leading men of the kingdom, to whom he had become known in more than one long visit which he had paid to this country.<sup>1</sup> A Scotch officer of reputation, General Mackay, had the English regiments under his special command.

On that same day also, a manifesto, or Declaration as it was called, reached London, and began to be secretly circu-

<sup>1</sup> The Count Schomberg was a sufficiently remarkable man to deserve a more extended notice than could be taken of him in the text. When Louis first began to take the government of his kingdom into his own hands, Turenne had recommended Schomberg to the King as one of the ablest officers in the army. Many successful campaigns in Portugal, Spain, and Flanders had fully borne out the great Marshal's panegyric. In one memorable instance, Schomberg had foiled William himself, and had compelled him to raise the siege of Maestrecht, though the Prince, as was not unusual with him, conducted his retreat with such skilful hardihood that he rather gained than lost credit by his failure. And so thoroughly did the Count impress Louis with a sense of his value that, though he refused to purchase a marshal's truncheon by the desertion of his religion, Louis gave it to him without insisting on the sacrifice, and he was the last Huguenot who ever obtained that much-coveted promotion. In spite, however, of religious differences, Louis had no more faithful servant till the fatal bigotry of Madame de Maintenon and the Jesuits overcame his principles of toleration or indifference. No exception was made, even in favour of such a man as the Count, in the rigour with which the revocation of the Edict of Nantes was carried out; and Schomberg, deprived of rank and employment, withdrew to Holland, where his former antagonist, the Prince, received him with open arms. Schomberg, too, had national injuries to avenge besides his own, for he was a native of the Palatinate which Louis had so cruelly ravaged.



lated by William's partisans. It had been drawn up by the Dutch minister, Fagel, with the aid of Burnet, and specified the principal causes which had moved the Prince to undertake the enterprise: "The grievances of the English people flowing from the King's open and notorious violation of the established laws of the kingdom; through too great a compliance with the advice of evil counsellors;" for the whole paper carefully preserved the constitutional distinction between the King and his ministers. "The exercise of the dispensing power, which laid all the laws at the foot of the throne, and which had been used for the purpose of breaking down the barriers contrived for the security of the Protestant religion. The Court of High Commission had been illegally erected, and an avowed Papist had been placed upon it for the express purpose of oppressing the Church of England; the charters of many boroughs and cities had been illegally forfeited; magistrates had been removed in great numbers for no offence but a refusal to break, or to connive at breaking the law; and it had been charged as a crime, even against prelates and peers of the realm, that they had petitioned against such conduct. Finally, there were grave reasons for believing that an attempt had been made to rob the Princess of her lawful inheritance, by introducing a supposititious child into the royal family. To put an end to these evils, the Prince had been solicited by many of the peers, both spiritual and temporal, to cross over to England to procure the meeting of a free Parliament, legally convened and elected; which was the only constitutional and effectual remedy for them. He had no other object. To such a Parliament he would leave the regulation of all the matters in question, acquiescing in and supporting their decisions in every point; and especially all

“ their measures for the preservation of the Church and the  
“ established religion ; and for the security to all men of due  
“ freedom of conscience.”

At first the fleet bore up towards the north, trying to reach Hull, but the wind was too dead foul to allow them to make any way in that direction. Herbert had always been unfavourable to such a course, and at noon on the 2nd it was given up ; the fleet was put about, and the resolution was taken to make for Torbay. The voyage now proceeded so rapidly that by breakfast-time on the 3rd, the Straits of Dover had been reached. The preceding night had been one of great anxiety, for a powerful fleet of upwards of thirty sail of the line lay on the Essex coast just outside the mouth of the Thames, under the command of the Earl of Dartmouth, an officer of unshaken loyalty, and one to whom the seamen were greatly attached ; and an encounter with such a force, unencumbered by any convoy, might have been fatal to the whole enterprise ; but Dartmouth had no information where to look for the enemy. William had taken the greatest precautions to prevent any knowledge of his intended movements from getting abroad ; he had laid an embargo on all vessels in the Dutch ports, and, even had Dartmouth known his intended course, the same wind which prevented William from going northward, hindered him also from leaving his anchorage. The Protestant wind had served a double object, it had hastened William on his way, and baffled all attempts to intercept him.

Even when, in the night of the 3rd, a messenger from Dover reached London with the news that the invading force had passed the Straits, and was steering for the west, Dartmouth was still unable to move, and it was some hours later before a change of wind allowed him to reach

the open sea, and to bend his course also in the direction which Herbert had taken; and the very change of wind which at last had allowed him to do this had also been favourable to William, for, on the 4th, when he was off Torbay, the weather was so hazy that the pilot could not see the landmarks. He overshot the entrance, and passed on, even beyond Dartmouth; and it was only a sudden veering round of the wind from east to south, in the afternoon of the 5th, that enabled the invading fleet to turn back and anchor in the wished-for haven.

William had hoped to effect his landing on the 4th, because that day was the anniversary both of his birth and of his wedding; but, in the eyes of the superstitious, and even of those who, though free from superstition themselves, knew its influence on the minds of the multitude, the 5th was a day of still better omen, since that day had already been signalized by one great deliverance of the nation from Popish machinations, in the detection of the Gunpowder Plot, and therefore, to sanguine enthusiasts, seemed more likely than another to bring with it a second interposition of Providence for the protection of Protestantism.

The night of the 5th and the morning of the 6th were calm, and in a few hours the whole army was successfully disembarked. A short time was devoted to a public thanksgiving to God for the favour which, hitherto, he had so visibly shown to the enterprise, and in the afternoon the army began its march towards Exeter, the artillery and baggage being sent back by sea to the mouth of the Exe; the wind once more favouring them, for on the 4th Dartmouth had by great exertions worked his way to the Downs, and was pressing westward in pursuit, when his advance was arrested by the same change which enabled

Herbert to turn back to Torbay ; and now, while the heavily-laden artillery and baggage vessels were laboriously and slowly making their way back to Topsham, the royal fleet, which by this time was at no great distance, was met by a violent storm, which drove it back in great disorder to Portsmouth.

Still, though so far everything had gone in his favour, William was as yet relieved from no other anxiety. In one sense, his difficulties might be said only to have begun with his landing, for the army in James's service was even more powerful than the fleet. The brigade which had been encamped on Hounslow Heath was at least equal to the whole of the invading force, and, from the moment that the King first received intelligence of William's designs, he had displayed both energy and judgment in augmenting it. He had summoned to the south all the regular troops which had been in Scotland, leaving the defence of that kingdom to the militia. He had brought over regiments from Ireland, and the recruiting had been carried on with such vigour and success that he had at least 30,000 men under arms in the neighbourhood of London. William was well aware of his strength, and that his own prospects of success depended on the extent to which, now that he was in England, he himself might be reinforced by those who had invited him over, and by the still greater number of those who had been represented as secretly desirous of his arrival ; and for some days the prospect of any such addition to his force seemed small.

The weather and the roads were so bad, that though Exeter was less than thirty miles from the place at which he had landed, he did not reach that important city till the fourth day, and he did not meet the reception which he

had looked for. The lower orders of the citizens, indeed, received him with acclamations, as the peasants in the rural villages had greeted him all along his line of march, but the magistrates and chief gentlemen kept aloof. The Bishop and the Dean fled, and when, on the day after his arrival, a solemn service of thanksgiving was performed, the Canons refused to attend the Cathedral. William himself took possession of the Bishop's throne, and Burnet preached a sermon, which was listened to in silence, but when, at the conclusion of the service, he proceeded to read the Prince's manifesto, the greater part of those citizens who had ventured to attend hurried out in a panic, lest their presence at such an announcement should be accounted treason; and when the zealous chaplain wound up the whole with a loud cry of "God bless the Prince of Orange," the voices which answered "Amen" came but from the humbler classes. And though, after a few days, one or two nobles and gentlemen of property reached Exeter from the more central counties, a week elapsed before they were joined by any of the Devonshire squires.

Meanwhile the agitation had been great in London, and, as was natural, greatest of all in the palace and Council of the King. Of all the sentences in the Prince's manifesto none had affected James so deeply as the allegation that he had been invited over by some of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal; for he knew well how sincerely loyalty to the Crown was regarded by the Churchmen as a religious principle; and, if a single Bishop had renounced it, he could not conceal from himself that his act would be the signal for a wide defection. As soon as the paper reached him, he summoned some of the Peers to his presence, and demanded of them whether they were among those alluded to. Compton,

Bishop of London, who had signed the invitation, evaded the question ; but Halifax, Clarendon, and Nottingham, as they had not done so, had no difficulty in denying it ; though Halifax wholly denied any right to put such a question to him, and affirmed that, if he had invited the Prince over, he should, as a defendant on trial, feel justified in pleading Not Guilty.

The next day James summoned a larger number. Though he refused to let them see the manifesto, he demanded that they should denounce it, and draw up a paper signifying their abhorrence of the Prince's enterprise ; and he published a proclamation in the *Gazette* denouncing the circulation, or even the perusal of the manifesto, as a crime liable to the heaviest penalties. On the day after William landed, the King once more summoned the Primate, the Bishop of London, and some of the other prelates, to his presence, produced the Prince's declaration, bade them read it, and once more demanded of them a written disavowal of the Prince and his manifesto, which they declined to give. Sancroft said truly that he had known nothing of the invitation ; but that to meddle with the matter at all did not come within the sphere of episcopal duties. It belonged to the civil power, and with a submission that had in it as much sarcasm as might become a Bishop, he reminded the King that when once before he and some of his brethren had affixed their signatures to a political document of the most harmless kind, being but a humble petition to his Majesty, their act had been treated as a grave offence, the Attorney and Solicitor-Generals agreeing in the argument that out of Parliament they had no right to interfere in politics at all. James was by turns querulous, indignant, and peremptory. He expostulated, he reproached, he commanded, declaring

that he had a right to compel their assistance in whatever way he chose. They were equally steady in their refusal to sign such a declaration as he required. As Peers of Parliament their best advice, they said, was at his service ; as Prelates of the Church he might command their most earnest prayers, but beyond this their duties did not extend. He, however, wanted neither the advice of Parliament, nor the prayers of Protestants ; and at last, after a long altercation, dismissed them with something like contumely. He would dispense with their aid, and rely on himself and on his own arms.

Those arms were sufficiently formidable had they been really trustworthy. Lord Feversham, still, as in the days of Monmouth's rebellion, Commander-in-Chief, was rapidly moving his troops westward, and had already collected at Salisbury a force much superior in numbers to that which was at Exeter, and many of the most powerful nobles were making great exertions in the Royal cause. Some, indeed, of whom James had thought himself sure, turned against him ; the Earl of Abingdon, who three years before had shown a most loyal zeal in his behalf, now yielded to the conviction that his religion was in danger, and before the middle of the month repaired to William's head-quarters ; but a still more powerful peer, the Duke of Beaufort, who was Lord Lieutenant of Gloucestershire, and who had great influence over all the eastern parts of South Wales, was exerting all his authority in support of the Crown. At the head of the militia of his county he attacked and defeated Lord Lovelace, who, with a well-equipped body of his retainers, was hastening to Exeter, defeated him and took him prisoner, and thus gave a severe blow to all William's hopes of fresh adhesions from that part of the country.



Lord Lovelace's defeat, however, was counterbalanced by advantages gained by the Prince's friends in other quarters. In those days events proceeded rapidly, and when they found that William had been able to maintain himself for a week at Exeter without any force marching against him, the Devonshire gentlemen began to flock to his standard. Sir Edward Seymour, one of the most eminent leaders of the Tory party in the whole kingdom, who in the reign of Charles II. had been Speaker of the House of Commons, was at their head. He brought not only eloquence, but also resolution and great practical ability to the Prince's aid; and seeing that, as he expressed it, the assemblage at Exeter "was as yet but a rope of sand," he suggested to Burnet the drawing up what he called "an Association," a declaration that those who signed it would aid the Prince in the attainment of the objects for which he had himself come to their aid to the utmost of their power; and that, if any successful attempt should be made on his personal safety they would avenge him on all who perpetrated or had prompted such a crime.

So many attempts at the Prince's assassination were made in the course of the next few years, that this clause seemed to be dictated by an accurate foresight; though, in other respects, so far were those who signed the paper from foreseeing or desiring the course which events subsequently took, that many of them afterwards, when William was seated on the throne, refused to swear allegiance to him. At present no one refused his signature; and William had hardly become thus assured of the steady adherence of the civilians who had joined him, before Churchill's efforts on his behalf began to produce their effect on the army. And the very first officer to desert the royal cause was a nephew of the King's



first wife, Lord Cornbury, the eldest son of the Earl of Clarendon. He was at Salisbury in command of a regiment of dragoons, and, being greatly under Churchill's influence, had made up his mind to desert, when the accidental absence of all his superior officers suggested to him the idea of taking over not only his own regiment but all the rest of the cavalry to join the Prince. As he had not taken the precaution, or perhaps had not had any opportunity of preparing the men beforehand for such a step, many of them, as soon as they began to suspect his intention, turned back; but his own regiment adhered to him, and with them, and a troop or two from some of the others, he made his way to William; and his arrival in that camp greatly encouraged the Dutch counsellors of the Prince, who, from the slowness with which the country gentlemen joined them, had begun to despond, but who were now led, by the accession of so important a force, to place confidence in the assurances which had been given them of the favourable disposition of the army in general.

To James, on the contrary, the event, as was equally natural, caused the deepest dismay; since, if he was thus deserted by one whom he might look upon as his own nephew, and whose father was still by his side, it became impossible to know in whom he could put his trust. At all events, he could not doubt that Cornbury's treason was but the forerunner of others. And, in fact, the news of this defection, though but that of a single regiment, did prove a signal to numbers of those who had hitherto been hanging back, to declare themselves.<sup>1</sup> Many of the

<sup>1</sup> There is some uncertainty in the exact order of these events. Burnet, p. 790, says James was at Salisbury when Cornbury deserted, Cornbury, with the rest of the troops, having been sent "twenty miles further"—appa-

chief gentry from Dorsetshire and Somersetshire hastened to Exeter, others took up arms in Cheshire and the Midland Counties ; the Earl of Devonshire seized Nottingham and Derby. Lord Danby, at the head of a powerful body of horse, made himself master of York, raising the cry of "No Popery ! a free Parliament ;" and in most of these counties the leaders justified their insurrection by a declaration of their provocation and their object. The one was the contempt shown by the Government for the law and the Protestant religion ; the other was the election of a free and independent Parliament ; and a combination for these ends they denied to be rebellion, since the defence and maintenance of the law was manifestly self-defence.

James was greatly disturbed, and showed the agitation of his mind by the inconsistency of his conduct. At one moment he behaved with calmness and dignity, seeking to tranquillize Lord Clarendon, who professed himself inconsolable for his son's treason, by the assurance that he should not think the worse of the family in general for the crime of a single member of it ; and he summoned the principal military officers then in London, and offered to release any from their oaths who might have conscientious scruples at fighting in his cause ; but he entreated them not to forfeit their honour as gentlemen and soldiers by treachery. But when, a few hours afterwards, a body of Peers, headed by the Primate, his brothers-in-law the Earls of Clarendon and Rochester, and the Duke of Grafton, the most distinguished of the natural sons of the late King, came to him with a

rently to Blandford. Macaulay places James's departure from London some days later. I conceive that Burnet is of course more to be trusted for a *precise* knowledge of what took place in William's camp than in James's, but *not* for dates.

petition that he would summon a Parliament, and open a communication with the Prince of Orange, he lost all temper.

A free Parliament, he declared, was impossible while an enemy was in the kingdom. The Primate, and Sprat, the Bishop of Rochester, who, having formerly been a member of the High Commission Court, seemed now anxious to efface the recollection of his servility by a show of independence, and had added his signature to the petition, he reproached with special bitterness : “ A few days ago they “ had refused to condemn the Prince’s invasion on the plea “ that they would not interfere in politics ; but now they con- “ demned him, their King, and were ready to excite their “ flocks to disloyalty. And he declared that so far would “ he be from opening any communications with the invader, “ that, if the Prince should send him a message even under “ a flag of truce, the first messenger should be dismissed “ without an answer ; a second should be hanged.” And then, as if to show how unchanged was his determination to set himself above the law, having resolved to leave London to put himself at the head of his army, he appointed a Council to carry on the departmental duties of the Government during his absence, two of whom were Roman Catholics, while a third was the hated Judge Jefferies ; and he despatched the infant Prince of Wales to Portsmouth, with the intention that Lord Dartmouth should convey him to France.

On the 19th he reached Salisbury. Two days later the Prince also quitted Exeter, marching eastward as far as Axminster, and from thence, turning slightly to the north because the Dorsetshire downs would be favourable to the King, whose chief superiority was in cavalry, he advanced to Crewkerne, in Somersetshire. He was, above all things,

desirous to avoid a battle with his father-in-law, which, whatever might be the result, would have a somewhat unnatural appearance, and would be unpopular with many even of his own friends ; and the adoption of this line of march would enable him to pass by the King's position, and also to secure the important cities of Bristol and Oxford. From the great University he received unexpected encouragement. James's open attacks on its privileges and religion had produced its fruit ; and, before William left Crewkerne, a deputation from the heads of colleges came to meet him, promising him their cordial adherence, inviting him to visit the City, and offering to place the college plate at his disposal, as they had before devoted it to the service of his grandfather, Charles I., if he should require it.

With all his care and Schomberg's skill it was impracticable wholly to avoid a collision between the two armies ; though prudence on one side, and accident on the other, gave to the skirmish which occurred such a character that even those of the country people who wished best to James's cause, yet at the same time rejoiced in the success of William's soldiers. As he was marching in an array which could not but have a hostile appearance through England, William judiciously placed his English regiments in the van. James's advanced guard was composed of Irish troops under the command of the single Irishman who made himself an honourable name in his service, the chivalrous Sarsfield, but his virtues were as yet unknown in England. And it so happened that a detachment of each force met near Wincanton. Though the Irish were by far the more numerous, the English were the more skilfully commanded ; the peasants sided with them, and perplexed Sarsfield's officer with false intelligence. He

was repulsed, and the affair, which, though but a brief and casual skirmish, was magnified by the sympathies of the country people into a glorious victory gained by their own countrymen over Connaught barbarians, greatly increased the general enthusiasm for the Prince's cause.

But it was not actions between handfuls of men, or even victory in a pitched battle, which could ensure the Prince's success. James was strong enough to bear a heavy loss in the field, if he could only have trusted those who within the last week had pledged their fidelity to his service. But his very last acts had shown that his purpose to establish Popery and despotic authority was unchanged, and completed the alienation of those who, perhaps, might still have hesitated to take so decided a step as that of deserting their colours, had it been possible for them to reconcile their loyalty with their regard for their religion. To many it was a cruel alternative that presented itself; nor was their final choice made without great reluctance, and scruples so sincere that at a subsequent period some of them partially retraced their steps. Others, however, wanted no additional provocation to lead them to act on the resolution which they had already formed, and the desertion of some was coloured with a studied and peculiar treachery, which has, unhappily, tarnished one of the most brilliant reputations in our annals.

Lord Churchill, as we have seen, had been for some time in communication with the Prince. Though in his extreme youth<sup>1</sup> he is said not altogether to have escaped

<sup>1</sup> Archdeacon Coxe, "Life of Marlborough," c. i., has shown that the story of his connection with the Duchess of Cleveland, and of her liberality to him, is derived from the "New Atalantis" of Mrs. Mauley, whose character is sufficiently notorious to excuse one from dilating on it; and

the contagious dissipation of the age, he was nevertheless imbued with a firm attachment to his own religion ; and, as soon as he became convinced that James was determined to crush the Church of England, he gave in his adhesion to the party which was formed to withstand his proceedings. Had he, as soon as he made up his mind, thrown up his command and crossed over to Holland, like Lord Devonshire ; or joined him at Exeter, like Sir Edward Seymour, the stoutest Tory could not have reproached him. But he postponed his desertion till it would not only strengthen the invader, but also disable those whom he deserted. James even believed that the advice which he gave him a day or two before his flight, to cross Salisbury Plain for the purpose of reviewing the troops at Warminster, was dictated by a consideration of the facilities which would have been found there for betraying him into the hands of the enemy at a small town close to their outposts ; though in that suspicion he was probably mistaken, as Churchill was too shrewd not to be aware that no event could possibly have been so embarrassing to the Prince as one which would have brought him into personal contact with the King. It was, in all probability, rather his object to fill James's mind with false confidence by an exhibition of his strength in different quarters, and so to keep him deceived till the last moment.

But events led him to precipitate his flight. In a Council of War, which was held in James's presence on the 24th of November, Churchill's opinion as to the operations which should be adopted was overruled, and he fancied that such a disregard of his judgment argued

also that the Duchess was his cousin, a fact which might account for both the intimacy and the bounty.

suspicion. He may have learnt that James had been warned against him, and had been recommended to place him under arrest. And his movements being quickened by personal irritation, that very evening he wrote a letter to the King, excusing himself for deserting his service, in spite of all the favours which he received and which he warmly acknowledged. "Nothing," he declared, "but his deep conviction of his religious duty could have separated him from his Majesty's side; and though he could not reconcile it to his conscience to fight against the Prince, he was still as ready as ever to draw his sword in defence of the lawful rights and prerogatives of the Crown." And then he took horse and rode off to the Prince's camp, having persuaded the Duke of Grafton to accompany him. Grafton's defection was of especial consequence, because, in addition to his military command, he was known to have great influence with the naval officers; and the next day James learnt that Captain Churchill, Lord Churchill's brother, who commanded a frigate in Lord Dartmouth's fleet, had also gone over to Admiral Herbert; and that Lord Dartmouth was assured that many others of his officers, though they shrank as yet from an act of open desertion, would refuse to fight against the Prince.

James was panic-stricken. A day or two before he had resisted the urgent advice of his Council of War to seek out the Prince and give him battle, though it had been strongly pressed upon him, not only by Churchill, but by a great soldier whose fidelity was certainly open to no suspicion, Lord Dundee. And these defections, with new ones of which every hour brought fresh intelligence, deprived him of all resolution. He returned to London, drawing back all his army to the line of the Thames, and sending orders to



Lord Dartmouth by Lord Dover, a Roman Catholic whom he had lately raised to the peerage, to provide for the instant conveyance of the infant Prince of Wales to France.

Heavier news attended his journey towards his capital. The Irish Duke of Ormond, as the heir of his father's faithful and unwearied servant, might be looked on as the representative of the most unflinching loyalty of his country. The Earl of Drumlanrig, the eldest son of the Scotch Duke of Queensberry, might have been supposed to be one on whom it was equally safe to rely ; for the Duke was the bitter enemy of the Presbyterians in his own country, and the Earl himself was Lieutenant-Colonel of Lord Dundee's regiment. The very day that James left Salisbury they supped with him at Andover ; but, when he retired to rest, they too fled back to join the Prince ; and they were accompanied by Prince George of Denmark, the husband of the King's second daughter, the Princess Anne. Prince George was a dull, stupid man, utterly incapable of forming any resolution for himself, or even of appreciating the importance of one formed for him by others. And there can be no doubt that the course now taken by him had been shaped out for him by Churchill, whose wife was in constant attendance on the Princess Anne. Prince George himself was of no consequence beyond that which his rank conferred on him. He had earned the nickname of *Est-il-possible* : a brief sentence which was his only comment on the most important events. And when James heard of his departure the only remark which he condescended to make on it was "Is *Est-il-possible* gone too? a good trooper would have been a greater loss." But it was hardly possible to suppose that his movements had not been concerted with



his wife ; and James might well fear that his flight was a fore-runner of hers.

So, indeed, it proved. The news of Lord Churchill's desertion reached London in the afternoon ; that it had been followed by that of Prince George was known soon afterwards. Comments, which might easily be construed as threats, were freely made on their conduct by the Queen and those around her ; and the sentries were doubled around that portion of Whitehall Palace which was occupied by Anne. It was known also that the King himself was on his return ; and Anne was greatly alarmed. She had good reason to dread her father's indignation ; and in anticipation of his reproaches on her husband's account, declared that she would leap out of window rather than venture to encounter him. Lady Churchill might well share her fears, and might fear for herself too, for some of her own acts might probably be regarded, without any great strain, as high treason ; and James was not a Prince likely to show mercy. She persuaded her mistress to instant flight, and she herself contrived the means.

She hastened secretly to the Bishop of London, and, having made her arrangements with him, at midnight she conducted Anne to his house, which was in Suffolk Street. Speed and secrecy were of such consequence that they did not venture to take with them a single article of clothes ; but the Bishop conducted them to the Earl of Dorset's. Lady Dorset furnished them with the requisites for a journey, and, at daybreak, escorted by the Earl and the Bishop, they rode off to another house of Lord Dorset's in Epping Forest, from which they presently proceeded to Northampton. Not, perhaps, since the Archbishop of York had commanded Queen Philippa's right wing at Neville's

Cross had an English prelate been seen in military equipment ; but, on this emergency, Compton, who had been an officer in the Life Guards before he took orders, revived the ancient usage, donned his old uniform, and rode before the Princess's carriage fully armed with sword and pistol. When on the afternoon of the 26th the King arrived in London, Anne's flight was the first thing announced to him ; it filled his cup of bitterness to the brim, and wrung from him a cry of anguish which no previous event had extorted. " God help me," said he, in the extremity of his despair ; " my own children have forsaken me !"

The next day he held a Council, consisting of all the Peers, both Temporal and Spiritual, who were in London, and asked their advice ; referring pointedly to the petition which had been presented to him just before he quitted London for Salisbury, and which then he had treated with so much contempt. Many unexpected events, he said, had taken place, and he had found everywhere that all classes seemed anxious for a Parliament. What was to be done ? Lord Rochester, who had borne the principal part in drawing up that petition, could only repeat his adherence to its requests and recommendations, though he confessed a fear that compliance with them might now prove too late. Still the instant issue of writs for a Parliament, and a negotiation with the Prince of Orange seemed to him to be the only measures which could offer the least prospect of the extrication of the kingdom from its present evils. And he was seconded in his advice by others who had not signed the petition, even by Jefferies.

There could be no doubt that Rochester was still honestly anxious to support and save the throne ; but his brother, the Earl of Clarendon, seemed, from his language, as if he could

no longer be safely reckoned on. Even Burnet describes his language as "indecent, insolent," and "generally condemned." He inveighed against tyranny and Popery; affirmed that even now a regiment was being raised into which no Protestant was admitted, and accused James himself of a want of hardihood in retreating from Salisbury without trying his fortune in a battle. But among the Peers were men less ungenerous than Clarendon, and more able than Rochester. The Marquis of Halifax, whose eloquence in the last reign had averted the Exclusion Bill, put aside the recollection of the ingratitude with which James had requited that great service, and with statesman-like wisdom and fearless candour, tempered with all possible delicacy and consideration for the King's distress, gave the only advice which could have saved the Crown.

The part of a mediator between hostile parties was indeed one peculiarly suited to his disposition, for he was always an enemy to extremes. He now pointed out that the occurrences of the last fortnight had greatly changed the whole aspect of affairs; that an adoption of the counsels contained in the petition referred to, a consent to summon a Parliament, and to negotiate with the Prince of Orange, would no longer suffice. And he enumerated, as other measures necessary to be at once declared, an universal amnesty, the dismissal of all Roman Catholics from office, and an open repudiation of French counsels and the French connection. Lord Nottingham, whose Tory and monarchical principles could not be doubted, gave the same advice; but to James such counsels were as unpalatable as if they had come from the Whig camp. He consented indeed to summon a Parliament, and at once ordered the writs to be prepared, but at the same time

he denounced William's conduct with great vehemence, saying that Lord Churchill had designed to put him into the hands of the Prince as a prisoner; and that, whatever might be the Prince's professions, he aimed at nothing but the Crown. But, he added, he himself could penetrate his designs; he had read the history of Richard II., and he would not submit to be deposed in such a manner. At the same time he consented to treat with the Prince, and Halifax and Nottingham were themselves appointed as Commissioners on his side with Lord Godolphin, still the Queen's Chamberlain and a Lord of the Treasury.

But his real reliance was still on France. His favour for the Roman Catholics was as exclusive as ever; his desire to chastise those who had deserted him, and especially Lord Churchill, to whose treason and treachery he imputed the flight of his own daughter, was unquenchable. On these points he would that night make no concessions. The next day, he announced his willingness to concede them all; but his conduct in making this announcement, as also in promising a Parliament and in appointing the Commission to treat with the Prince, was, in truth, as base a perfidy as any of which he complained. He dismissed some Roman Catholic officers, especially Sir Edward Hales, who, as has been already mentioned, after his prosecution had been made Lieutenant of the Tower, and had availed himself of his position to insult the seven Bishops while in his custody. He proclaimed a free pardon to all who were with the Prince; and at that very moment he was in reality studying to bind himself to France more closely than ever; he was more than ever resolved to trust none but Roman Catholics; and above all things he was bent on revenging himself on those whom he was professing to have

pardoned. He desired Barillon to explain to Louis that all these measures were but devices to gain time : that his first object was to place his wife and child in security ; and that when they had escaped, then he was determined to quit England himself, taking his stand in Scotland or Ireland, or perhaps crossing over to France. A Parliament would be unmanageable. He could not trust one English regiment. The Irish troops were not numerous enough by themselves to withstand the Prince of Orange. His only reliance was on French aid.

But he had hardly given utterance to these designs when he found that one portion of them at least was impracticable. From some delay which it is not easy to explain, it was not till the 2nd of December that Lord Dover reached the fleet at Spithead, carrying the King's orders for the instant departure of the Prince of Wales to France. Those orders Lord Dartmouth positively refused to obey. In a most respectful letter he explained to the King the reasons which influenced him. To place the infant Prince in the hands of a foreign Sovereign would be " treason to his Majesty, and to " the known laws of the kingdom ; it would give the King's " enemies an advantage, though never so falsely grounded, " to distrust his son's just right. The people would (too " probably) grow so much concerned, at this, his great " mistrust, as to throw off their bounden allegiance. The " Prince of Wales being sent to France could have no other " purport than the entailing a perpetual war upon his nation " and posterity, and giving France always a temptation to " molest, invade, nay, hazard the conquest of England. " He hoped, therefore, to be pardoned, if, on his bended " knees, he begged of his Majesty to apply himself to " other counsels. The most he could apprehend his Ma-

“ jesty might be jealous of, was the young Prince’s being  
“ brought up in the religion of the Church of England,  
“ and that ought (for his royal Highness’s sake especially)  
“ to be the prayer of every honest loyal subject. He there-  
“ fore most earnestly implored the King not to make him  
“ the unhappy instrument of so apparent a ruin to his  
“ Majesty himself and the country, and not to suffer it to be  
“ done by any other ; for he could foresee nothing less from  
“ it than the putting in hazard both his Majesty and the  
“ Queen, and making England the most miserable nation in  
“ the world.”

Even Lord Dover himself, though a Roman Catholic, concurred in Dartmouth’s decision. And once more James had to alter his plans. The infant and his nurse were brought back to London, and, in order to lull suspicion, the writs for the promised Parliament were actually issued.

But it was becoming harder and harder to keep the nation, and especially the Londoners, quiet. The citizens had been vehemently agitated ever since the first news of William’s landing had reached them ; and the suspense in which they had since been kept had increased the excitement, while each favourable event fomented their hatred of Popery. They began to show signs of an inclination to attack all the Roman Catholics. They broke into the houses of some of the most eminent Roman Catholic merchants. A proclamation, professing to have been issued by the Prince of Orange, but whose style at once proved it to be a forgery in the judgment of every one possessed of sufficient calmness to exercise a critical judgment, was eagerly circulated, merely because it denounced all Papists, and especially those who adhered to the King, as barbarians and robbers, and invited all honest Protestants to attack them. And

even the Lord Mayor of London so far yielded to, or encouraged the general feeling, that without a shadow of pretext to justify such an act, he issued warrants to search the houses of Roman Catholics for arms. The storm was already brewing, which, a few days later, was to burst so heavily.

## CHAPTER VII.

Commissioners from the King reach William's camp—Divisions among William's adherents—William declares his willingness to trust the decision of all disputes to a free Parliament—Lauzun conducts the Queen and Prince of Wales to France—James flies from London—He is stopped on the coast—Resolution adopted by the Council of Peers—Lord Feversham disbands the army—Great riots in London—The Prince advances to Windsor—James returns to London—The Peers request James to withdraw from London—James flies to France.

MEANWHILE, from the most distant counties, intelligence was hourly arriving of fresh accessions of strength to the party of the invading Prince. The King's statue was thrown down at Newcastle; the garrison of Hull made prisoner of their governor, the Roman Catholic Lord Langdale; one peer in the Prince's interest seized Norwich, another roused Worcestershire. In Bristol, in Gloucester, in Oxford, the Protestant cause was equally triumphant; and meanwhile William himself was advancing with leisurely pace towards Salisbury, and from Salisbury to the metropolis. At Salisbury he received a most significant omen of his eventual and complete triumph, in the arrival at his quarters of Lord Clarendon himself, who, but a week or two before, had been horror-stricken at his son's desertion of the King, but who had thus soon learnt to follow his example. From Salisbury he bore up in a northerly direction to Hungerford, and at that small town, on the 8th of December, he met Halifax and his brother Commis-



sioners. Their first meeting was a singular one. They had desired a private interview, but he would only receive them at a public audience, and, when they had announced the proposals which they had been instructed to make, he declined giving any answer, but referred them to the English nobles and gentlemen by whom he was accompanied.

He even quitted the town and withdrew to Littlecote Hall, a country house in the neighbourhood, in order that he might leave the deliberations of his councillors the appearance of being unbiassed by his presence, though he reserved to himself the right of ultimate decision on the different matters that might be mentioned. He was acting with deep subtlety ; his object was undoubtedly the attainment of the throne, but he was well aware that there were already two distinct parties among his followers, one of which, though as firm as the other in the resolution to withstand the King's violation of the laws and endeavours to exalt Popery, yet limited their views of opposition to putting such a constraint on him as should compel him to discard the evil counsellors to whose pernicious influence they attributed his errors, and would as yet have regarded, as to the last many of them did regard, his deposition as a sin against Heaven. The other party had no such scruples, if it may not even be said that they were inclined to welcome an opportunity of showing their disapproval of the doctrine of divine indefeasible right, which had been so constantly inculcated by the courtiers ever since the accession of the first Stuart ; and William thought it far better for his own interest that the two parties should ventilate, and perhaps thus compose their differences in a discussion which should not be restrained by his presence, and the

result was that he was enabled to place himself in a favourable light as more inclined to amicable and moderate views than his advisers.

The proposals which the King's Commissioners had been instructed to make were, that all the matters in dispute, all the acts of which the malcontents complained, should be referred to the Parliament about to be assembled, and that in the meantime William should not advance his army within forty miles of London. The propositions seemed sufficiently reasonable, yet in William's Council those who sought the King's deposition were so superior in number to those who entertained a different view, that a majority resolved in rejecting them, and reported to the Prince their earnest advice that he should not consent to trust affairs to the decision of the new Parliament. It was a selfish feeling that prompted this resolution, for its chief advocates were some of the Commoners who had been for some time absent from their homes while attending the Prince, and who consequently despaired of securing seats in the House of Commons if an election were at once to take place; and the Prince, when their opinion was reported to him, declined to be bound by it. He saw that his own object could not be attained unless he established a character for moderation, and it was still more plain that persons who were complaining of infractions of the Constitution, could, in consistency, seek for no other than a constitutional remedy.

He therefore overruled his friends, though they pressed their views with great pertinacity, and determined that the answer to be given to the King's Commissioners should express a willingness to agree to their proposals, with a few additions; of which the most important were, that, as he was to be bound to keep his troops at a distance from

London lest they should seem to overawe the Parliament, James, for the same reason, should consent to withdraw his Irish regiments to an equal distance ; and that, if the King and he himself should desire to be present in London at the meeting of Parliament, they should each have an equal body-guard. It might not have been unreasonable for James's envoys to object to this provision as offensive and inadmissible ; since it certainly implied an equality between the King and the Prince ; while another stipulation, that the King should not seek to introduce any French troops into the kingdom, was probably more really at variance with the King's feelings and schemes, though it was one to which he would have found it impossible to raise even a plausible objection. William also varied the form of the answer, which, according to the draft of his councillors, would have seemed to proceed from himself alone ; but he chose that it should appear to be their work as well as his ; to be, as it were, the joint answer of himself and the Council, since, as he laid it down, he had come to relieve the people of England according to their own desires and on their own principles.

But James never waited to receive the answer. His fears led him to take the exact course which those in the Prince's confidence and interest most desired. Lord Halifax had, by the express command of the Prince, who had good reason not to trust too much to his chaplain's discretion, been refused a private interview with Burnet ; but at one of the public receptions he had found opportunity for a hurried conversation with him. "What," he asked the busy Churchman, "did the Prince's partisans really seek ? Did they wish to have the King in their power ?" "By no means ; they should not know what to

“do with him, and no one wished to harm him.” “What,” asked Halifax, “if he were to go away?” “Nothing,” replied Burnet, “could be so desirable.” And this very course, which his enemies most wished, but to which none of them could have driven him, James now took of his own accord. On the 6th of December, the very day on which his Commissioners reached Hungerford to wait for William, the little Prince of Wales was brought secretly back to London. While William was discussing with his Council the reply to be given to them, a distinguished French noble, by marriage nearly allied to Louis himself, but to whom that alliance had as yet brought nothing but loss of Court favour, was conducting the Queen and her infant son to France; and the moment that James received intelligence of their embarkation having been safely effected, he began to prepare for his own flight.

Nothing could change his purpose. It had no weight with him that, at the same time, he received letters from Halifax and his brother Commissioners, announcing that the answer to his proposals would be favourable. A panic, equally unkingly and impolitic, had taken entire possession of his mind; and, as if his duplicity and preference for falsehood were ineradicable, he was as resolved to signalize his flight with needless bad faith as to fly. Once more he summoned a Council, in which the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs of the City were included; he exhorted them to discharge their duties as faithful councillors of the Crown, and vigilant guardians of the public peace; and assured them that though he had thought it best, while an armed enemy was in the country, to place his wife and heir in security, he himself would stay among them, and trust his own honour and safety to their loyalty.

He even imposed on his most confidential ministers ; told the Lord Chamberlain that he had good news from Hungerford ; bade the Lord Chancellor attend him at an early hour on the morrow ; and, soon after midnight, quitted the palace by a secret passage ; crossed the Thames in a small boat ; with a childish hope of embarrassing those whom he left behind, he threw into the river the Great Seal, which he had ordered Jefferies to leave in his chamber, for the express purpose of making away with it ; found a carriage ready equipped on the Surrey side ; and drove with all speed to Sheerness, where a vessel was waiting for him, in which he hoped, before night, to reach the French coast.

Fortunately for him, if his pertinacity in folly had not baffled all the endeavours of Fortune to save him, that hope was for the moment disappointed. He succeeded, indeed, in getting on board the ship ; but the wind was so fresh that the captain hesitated to put to sea : and, before he consented to weigh anchor, the command was taken out of his hands. Garbled and imperfect intelligence of what was taking place in London had reached the district ; it was understood that the Roman Catholics, and especially the priests, were fleeing from London ; and when it was also learnt that some well-dressed strangers had recently gone on board the craft which was seen to be preparing to get under way, a body of fishermen from the neighbouring villages, at all times a rough and unmanageable body, boarded her, and compelled the King, whom they mistook for the Jesuit Father Petre, with his attendants, to go on shore. There he was presently recognized. Some of the Kentish gentlemen gathered round him to protect him and set him at liberty. But at first he seemed utterly broken in spirit ; while he was believed to be Petre, he had been

somewhat rudely handled ; had been robbed of his purse and watch ; and he burst out from time to time into childish lamentations ; sometimes muttering to himself a saying of his father, that “ the distance was short between the prison of a King and his grave ;” at others, loudly declaring that the Prince of Orange was thirsting for his life, and begging for a boat to regain the ship, and resume his flight.

But after a while he grew calmer. When he was first brought on shore, he had found time and means to write a brief note to acquaint any one to whom it might be delivered, that he was in “ the hands of an insolent rabble.” And the letter was brought to London to the Council of Peers, who, on the first intelligence of his flight, had taken the government upon themselves. They instantly despatched Lord Feversham with a detachment of Life Guards to ensure his safety ; and the sight of the gallant troops restored him to a sense of what was due to his dignity, revived his courage, and disposed him to entertain wiser counsels. He sent Lord Feversham back with a letter to the Prince, in which he announced that he should instantly return to Whitehall, and invited William to a personal conference ; placing St. James’s Palace at his disposal as a temporary residence ; and after resting a night at Rochester, drove back to London, from which he had been absent five days.

But, short as the period of his absence had been, it had been long enough to inflict almost irretrievable injury to his cause, and certainly to show him the extreme impolicy of his flight, and to warn him never to repeat it. It had alienated almost all those who had hitherto been his staunchest friends. His brother-in-law, Lord Rochester, advised the Duke of Northumberland, who commanded a troop of Life Guards, to call his soldiers together, and at once to declare

for the Prince ; Halifax, who, to contempt for the King's pusillanimous folly united a keen indignation at having been mocked by being sent on an idle commission to Hungerford, henceforth directed all his efforts to place William on the throne. Many even of those, with whom loyalty was a principle of religion, were of opinion that, by departing or intending to depart from the kingdom without making any provision for a regency during his absence, James had resigned his office, and released them from their allegiance. And Sancroft, who, as Primate, was at the head of the Peerage, summoned a Council of Peers, who speedily drew up and published a declaration, that all hope of a peaceful redress of grievances and of a restoration of the public tranquillity by the authority of Parliament had been extinguished by the King's flight. That, therefore, they had all determined to join the Prince of Orange for the security of the liberties and religion of the nation. And, promising liberty of conscience to all Protestants of every denomination, they announced that, till the Prince should arrive, they took on themselves the responsibility of the Government. And they sent a copy of the declaration to William, with an entreaty that he would hasten with all speed to London.

The line of conduct thus announced by them cannot be denied to have been not only wise and constitutional, but indispensably necessary. How necessary, a very few hours gave fearful proof. They proceeded to regulate those matters which they regarded as most pressing, to displace some of the Roman Catholics who were in high office, and to send down orders to Lord Dartmouth to abstain from acting against William's fleet. But there was a nearer danger which, as they did not foresee it, they did not provide against. When the King quitted Whitehall he left a



letter for Lord Feversham, which that nobleman understood, no doubt correctly, as an order to disband the army, and on which he instantly acted. The order was dictated by the same impotent spite which had prompted James to make away with the great seal, a malicious desire to throw everything into confusion. And it was more practically mischievous, for the disappearance of the soldiers, of the sentries who kept guard over the most conspicuous objects of public importance, the palaces, the Treasury, the Tower, seemed as if it had been intended to take off all restraint from the lawless mob, with which every great city abounds, and even to add to its strength by recruiting them with the disbanded soldiers, thus suddenly deprived of employment.

Nor were agents wanting to stimulate them by false intelligence and cunningly devised incentives to outrage. Letters were circulated announcing that Irishmen and Papists were preparing to massacre all the Protestant citizens ; and, though no one knew the writers, the contents were alone sufficient to ensure them a wide belief. The memory of the Irish massacre in 1641 had not yet wholly died away. A similar rising of the Papists in London was, in spite of all probability, or even possibility, expected or pretended to be expected. The cry of "No Popery" was raised, as it was raised with equal groundlessness nearly a century afterwards ; and, under cover of religious zeal, all the rabble of the city rose at once, committing all sorts of outrages. They pulled down Roman Catholic chapels, monasteries, and convents ; burnt the furniture and libraries ; and carried the holy vessels, the pictures and images, in derisive triumph through the streets. They paid no respect to the privileges of the foreign ambassadors : one or two, the French ambassador and the Venetian envoy, had obtained a guard of soldiers,



who set the mob at defiance ; but the houses of the Spanish ambassador, and of the other envoys of Catholic States who had not taken that precaution, were stormed, sacked, and burnt.

In one instance the fury of the populace found a victim, in avenging themselves on whom they had the sympathy of better men. Jefferies had fled the moment that his master's protection was withdrawn ; and, having disguised himself as a collier, was lurking in a low ale-house at Wapping, when he was recognized by a man who had once been brought before him, and who had then declared that he could never forget the savage ferocity with which he had been treated. He now gladly pointed him out to the ruffians who were straggling in every direction in search of plunder, but who left even the pursuit of booty to revenge themselves on one whom they regarded as a common enemy of all, and whose seizure might perhaps atone for other offences against the law. They dragged him into the street, where the rage and violence of the populace, who spared neither abuse, missiles, nor blows, was such that he could hardly be saved from their hands.

But at last the train bands delivered him, and he was brought before the Lord Mayor, who paid a most extraordinary tribute to his prisoner's former power. His worship's nerves were not good ; and seeing a man before whom all, whether guilty or innocent, had so lately trembled, now brought before him as a criminal, he was seized with a fit which presently proved mortal. But his death was no benefit to the wicked judge. The Lords of the Council committed him to the Tower, to which a vast mob accompanied him with execrations and threats ; and there, in the spring of the next year, he died ; partly of disease, and partly, it would

seem, of terror and misery, from the universal detestation of which he received almost daily proofs ; though to the last he declared that the reproaches which were heaped upon him for his cruelty were undeserved, since he had but obeyed the most peremptory orders from the Court, and had even incurred the displeasure of James for too great an inclination to show mercy.

The despatch from Sancroft and the other peers found the Prince still at Hungerford. He instantly prepared to hasten to London ; and, expressing the greatest indignation at Lord Feversham for his disbandment of the army, entrusted Lord Churchill and the Duke of Grafton with the task of calling all the English soldiers back to their standards. The Irish he refused to re-enlist ; but promised them good treatment if they gave up their arms. He himself could march but slowly, and had only reached Windsor when he learnt that James was still in England ; and presently Lord Feversham arrived with the King's letter. He was greatly disconcerted ; for his hopes of attaining the throne depended on the King's flight. It was plain that the difficulties of his own position were greatly complicated by the King's return to London. He at once ordered the arrest of Feversham, on the plea, which was not very sustainable, that, as the general of a hostile army, he required a safe-conduct, and sent an envoy of his own with an answer to the letter, in which he declined the conference to which James invited him, and desired that his Majesty would remain at Rochester. He was already assuming the attitude of a conqueror ; and his object evidently was that James should be terrified into resuming his flight. But James was already in London, where the changeable and impulsive populace had greeted him on his return with seemingly sincere accla-

mations. The women prayed for him, and wept with joy as he passed ; the men followed his coach with cheers, and in the evening the whole city was brilliant with bonfires.<sup>1</sup>

Like other weak men, James was as easily elated as he was easily depressed ; and elation but increased his natural obstinacy. The greetings of the mob, though not one citizen of respectability was seen in it, convinced him that he had still the hearts of the people ; and, full of this confidence, he at once summoned a Privy Council ; where, in spite of the ominous scantiness of the attendance, he held as high language as ever, justifying all his acts, with the exception of his treatment of Magdalen College, which he seemed to admit had been over-hasty ; and even censuring severely Sancroft and his brother peers for daring to assume the government in his absence without his authority. But presently, when the Prince's envoy, Baron Zulestein, arrived with his answer, and the refusal of a personal interview, he relapsed into the extremity of irresolution, alternating with despair. At one minute he proposed to take refuge in the City ; the next he complained that nothing was left for him but a renewal of flight ; though, as he said at the same time, he knew that to drive him to that was the chief aim of his enemies.

William, on his part, also held a Council of those who had joined him ; inviting them to consult on the conduct to be observed towards the King now that he had returned ; and, as at Hungerford, abstaining from being present at their deliberations, from a politic desire to represent himself still as only their instrument for securing the public interests. It was soon seen that, on one most material point, their

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay questions the sincerity of the joy, but Burnet and Lord Clarendon are very positive and clear on the point.

judgment coincided with his wishes. Zulestein had declared to the King that the Prince would not come to St. James's while any troops remained in London which were not under his own orders. And the Council at Windsor, having made Lord Halifax their chairman, decided, as the first point, that it would be wholly incompatible with the public tranquillity and safety, that two who could hardly be regarded in any other light than that of hostile, or, at least, rival princes, should be established with their separate guards and partisans in two neighbouring palaces.

They were equally convinced that it was desirable for William to accept the invitation which had been sent to him, and to repair to the capital ; and they therefore determined to request the King to withdraw to Ham, near Richmond, where the Duke of Lauderdale had a fine house which could be placed at his disposal. Some proposed a far harsher treatment of him ; and it is remarkable that among them were some whose Tory principles were most opposed to any resistance to royal authority, and who even, in the end, refused to take the oath of allegiance to William while James was alive. Yet they now did not hesitate privately to represent to William that it would be dangerous to leave him at liberty ; that the only way to secure the Protestants in Ireland would be to make him, as it were, a hostage for their safety ; and that, though it would not be easy nor prudent to keep him as a prisoner in England, he might be sent to Holland and detained at Breda without difficulty, till all affairs in these kingdoms had been put on a stable footing.

To this advice, however, William, though owning the solidity of the reasons on which it was founded, altogether declined to listen. He was certain that his wife, the Princess, would never endure that such a restraint should

be put upon her father by her husband, nor could he think it a becoming part for himself, while it was by no means certain that it would be acceptable to the nation or to the Parliament. He replied, therefore, that he could consent to nothing but the request to be made to his Majesty to withdraw from London; and said that he should even order a guard to attend him, with a charge to protect him from insult, but to put no constraint whatever on his movements. In truth, it was for his interest to leave the King free, since his one desire was that James should renew his flight, but that all men should see that it was his own voluntary and deliberate act; and James, with incredible fatuity, was already resolved to gratify him.

On the morning of the 18th, Halifax, with two other nobles, arrived from Windsor, with the request that the King would fix his abode at Ham; and his answer was that he should prefer returning to Rochester. William's consent was gladly given to such an arrangement. But the report of it struck terror into the minds of all James's friends. That his preference for Rochester over Ham was dictated solely by the consideration of the facilities which it would afford for crossing over to France, was evident to all; and several of the nobles, among whom were some of the Bishops whom he had so shamefully prosecuted in the summer, entreated him to change his purpose, urging that to quit the country would be ruinous, not only to his own cause, but to the tranquillity of the kingdom; and that it would also be very contrary to the feelings and wishes of the great majority of the nation. One peer even urged him to call around him the soldiers whom Feversham had disbanded, and who had not been re-enlisted, and with them to fall on the Dutch troops, who were so widely dispersed in their different quarters

as to make it probable that they might be easily overpowered.

Bewildered as James was, and obstinately as he was wont to adhere to a plan when he had once formed it, he can hardly have failed to see the force of these arguments, or the vast difference between the ease of retaining power which he possessed, and recovering it after he had resigned, or even seemed to resign it. But he persisted in returning to Rochester; and, if the remonstrances and entreaties thus pressed upon him, and repeated by frequent messengers and letters during the next two or three days, induced him for a moment to waver in his resolution to pass over to France, his hesitation was but temporary. He had conceived the most absurd and groundless fears that his life was in danger; and the Queen, who had been imbued with his alarms, wrote him "an earnest if not imperious"<sup>1</sup> letter, claiming his flight as the fulfilment of a promise made to herself. The letter was intercepted and brought to William, who at once forwarded it to Rochester; but even this proof of William's anxiety that he should quit the kingdom failed to detain him. That he was disarming his friends and playing into the hands of his enemies he could not doubt; but fear prevailed over every other consideration, and, on the evening of the 22nd of December, he resumed his attempt to fly, copying his conduct of eleven days before with singular and discreditable minuteness.

Once more he made his pusillanimous act still more ignominious by wanton and needless deceit of his followers. That very evening some gentlemen of sense and influence had arrived from London bringing him fresh letters of

<sup>1</sup> They are the expressions of Burnet, who, perhaps, had seen the letter.

entreaty that he would by no means quit the kingdom, which they seconded by information and remonstrance of their own. He read the letters ; listened to the advice ; promised to take both into his consideration, and to discuss the matter with them in the morning ; and, having thus got rid of them, he pretended to go to bed. But as soon as he had dismissed his personal attendants he dressed himself again ; and accompanied by his natural son, the Duke of Berwick, a promising youth of eighteen, who had only that evening joined him from Portsmouth, he stole down to the shore and embarked in a vessel which was waiting for him. Good care had been taken by William's partisans that no one should stop him again. The captain at once set sail without the slightest hindrance, and reached Ambleteuse, on the French coast, in a few hours.

## CHAPTER VIII.

William reaches London—Invites the Peers and chief Commoners to a conference—The Peers request the Prince to take the government on himself for the present, and to summon a convention—Differences of opinion in the nation—The convention meets January 22, 1689—An Association for self-defence is formed in Ulster by the Protestants—Discussion in the House of Commons—A resolution is agreed to by the House of Commons—Keen debate on every clause of the resolution in the House of Peers—A conference between the two Houses is held—James sends a letter to the convention—Feelings of the Prince and Princess of Orange—The Prince and Princess are invited to accept the crown—The Declaration of Right is framed by the Commons—The Princess reaches England—The two Houses present the crown to the Prince and Princess February 13, 1689.

MEANWHILE the Prince was in London, prosecuting his objects with great energy and sagacity, and steering his way with a judgment that never went astray between the conflicting counsels of the different parties among his followers. James had quitted London for the last time on the morning of the 18th. On the afternoon of the same day William arrived in the capital, where, though the weather was wet and stormy, he was met by as large a concourse of people, and was greeted by cheers as loud, and illuminations and bon-fires as general, as had hailed the return of the King the week before. He drove at once to St. James's Palace, which he had selected for his residence ; and in the evening he held a Court which was numerously attended by all the



principal nobles and men of influence who were at the time in London.

The next day he received addresses from different bodies ; from the Aldermen and Common Council of the City ; from the clergy, who were headed by nearly all the Bishops ; from the Nonconformist ministers of the capital ; from the lawyers, one of whom replied to one of his observations in a sentence which has often been quoted, and which in a few words contains the whole justification of the Revolution. Almost half a century before, Serjeant Maynard had aided, as one of the counsel for the Commons, in conducting the impeachment of Strafford ; he had had the honour of incurring the marked displeasure of Cromwell, who had twice sent him to the Tower ; of refusing a seat on the bench from Charles II. ; and of sending back in the past summer a brief which had been meant to secure his services in the prosecution of the Bishops. He was in his eighty-seventh year when he now headed the deputation from the Inns of Court. The Prince, who was no stranger to his character, received him with especial graciousness : “ Mr. Serjeant,” said he, “ you must have outlived all the lawyers of your time.” “ Yes, please your Highness,” replied the old man ; “ and, if your Highness had not come over, I should have outlived the law itself.”

And indeed he would have outlived the law if William had taken the course which some of his exulting partisans recommended ; for they advised him at once to seize on the Crown, claiming it by right of conquest ; and such a claim so enforced would for the moment have abrogated all law. But he was far too politic, and too careful of appearances, to take such advice ; it was not only that to have done so would have been to falsify all the professions of the Declara-

tion which he had issued, and, in all probability, to arm against himself a large section of the nation whose acquiescence in his domination could only be won by the most careful management, but whose pride would at once be roused to resistance by a claim so offensive, and so devoid of all foundation in fact.

He had declared that his sole object in invading England was to preserve and uphold the laws and Constitution of England, and, by his profession of a resolution to refer the redress of all the evils complained of to Parliament, he had clearly implied a conviction that Parliament was fully able to remedy them without trenching on the legitimate authority of the existing sovereign. Undoubtedly he did hope, and from the first had hoped, that the course of events would transfer the Crown from the head of James to his own; but it was equally undoubted, that, if it were to be peacefully worn, it must be because the nation had given it to him, not because he had seized on it. He therefore at once rejected all such intemperate and unwise counsels, and determined that every measure which was adopted should bear the appearance of having been devised by the legitimate councillors of the Crown, and not by himself.

One important difficulty stood in the way of all proceedings, that, except the King, there was no one who had authority to summon a Parliament. But so careful was William to avoid the slightest appearance of usurpation, that he would not take upon himself to supply even that deficiency. He did, indeed, invite all the Peers in London to meet him at St. James's on the morning of the 21st, but, when they had assembled, he pursued the same course which he had adopted before at Hungerford, and left them to

deliberate together without the restraint of his presence. They determined that they would meet the next day in the House of Lords to take into consideration the state of the nation ; and, by their advice, the Prince issued also a notice, inviting all those Commoners who had sat as representatives of the people in any Parliament of Charles II. to attend him on the 26th.<sup>1</sup>

On the Saturday the Peers adjourned till Monday, and, when on that day they came together, they had to consider matters under a new aspect, for the news of the King's second flight had reached London on the preceding evening. There was therefore now no recognized Government in the island ; and, instead of arranging a negotiation with the King, while still in the neighbourhood of his capital, they had to take instant steps to supply the want caused by his departure, without any appointment of a deputy or Regent.

He had, indeed, left a letter with Lord Middleton, the Secretary of State, but even his friends did not press for its production ; one Peer did move that it should be sent for and read, but when Lord Godolphin, who had seen it, confessed that it was of an unsatisfactory character, the proposal was dropped. Lord Clarendon, too, brought forward a motion that the meeting should inquire into the birth of the Prince of Wales, which was rejected with something like contempt ; and another Peer, who had not hitherto taken any active part in politics, Lord Paget, advanced an opinion which was countenanced by some lawyers, and was warmly supported

<sup>1</sup> Hallam (chap. III. p. 125) says that to the old members of the Parliaments of Charles II. were added 50 members of the Common Council, with the Lord Mayor. But he gives no authority for this statement, which is not corroborated by either Burnet's History or Clarendon's Diary.

in the subsequent debates, that the King's "withdrawing from the country was a demise in law,"<sup>1</sup> and therefore he moved that the Princess Mary should at once be proclaimed Queen.

This, however, though he was supported by Bishop Compton, was also rejected ; and, in the end, it was decided that the meeting should request the Prince to take upon himself the administration of the Government for the present, and to address a circular letter to all the counties, cities, and other places which had a right to return members to the House of Commons, requesting them to send representatives to a Convention, to be held at Westminster before the end of the next month. The name Convention was the same that had been given to the two Houses which restored Charles II., which, like the assembly now to be convened, had been summoned without the royal authority ; but the same precedent showed that the acts of such a body so assembled would have all the validity of the enactments of a regular Parliament. It has been remarked that the Peers presented their address to the Prince without waiting for the concurrence of the Commons, who did not meet till two days later. But William abstained from giving any formal reply till the Commons also had agreed to a similar resolu-

<sup>1</sup> This opinion was maintained by Pollexfen, the same lawyer who had been one of the Bishops' counsel, as early as December 15th, while the King was still in England. On that day he told Lord Clarendon, "he wondered the Prince had done no more. That the King by withdrawing himself had left the Government; that he had made a cession, and forfeited his right; that his being now at Feversham, though he should come back to London, signified not a rush; that the Prince of Orange had nothing to do but at the head of his army to declare himself King, and presently to issue writs for the calling a Parliament according to Cromwell's model." It was a curious precedent to recommend, but Macaulay says Pollexfen was "at heart a Whig, if not a Republican."

tion ; then he at once declared his compliance with their request ; issued writs summoning a Convention of both Houses, and in the meantime assumed the executive authority.

It was an arduous task that he took upon himself, for the events of the last few weeks had thrown every department of the Government into confusion. The army, which had been disbanded, was straggling in want and disorder over the country ; the fleet was discontented partly at the recent changes, and still more, perhaps, at their pay being in arrear. The Exchequer was almost empty. From the financial difficulty the City of London relieved him by advancing £200,000 for the public service ; and his own moderation, which was seen to proceed not from weakness or timidity, but from firmness and resolution, found a remedy for other pressing evils.

Arrangements were made for transferring the Irish soldiers to the service of the Emperor, while the recruiting of the army in the English counties was pushed on with energy. Lord Dartmouth was removed from the command of the fleet, and the sailors were pacified by promises of immediate payment. The Roman Catholics received assurances that they should be protected from all annoyance ; and Burnet was sent to some of their priests, who had been thrown into prison, with instructions to promise them indulgent treatment and an early liberation. But many were still greatly discontented, whose dissatisfaction was likely to prove more embarrassing than the murmurs of the seamen, or the complaints of the Papists. Many even of those who had joined the Prince were displeased at the treatment which the King had received since his return from Rochester. His second flight had evidently not been as spontaneous as his first. It

was undeniable that he had been driven from his own palace at Whitehall,<sup>1</sup> and equally clear that there had been an intention to terrify him into leaving the kingdom; and many saw, in these things, a design on the part of William to advance himself, or, at least, to leave the nation no alternative but that of advancing him.

The existence of this feeling was no secret to the Prince's friends, nor to the Prince himself. Burnet, knowing that he was believed to stand high in William's confidence, endeavoured to allay it by asserting his knowledge that "the Prince was so far from ambition that he would not take the title of King though it should be offered to him." But he himself was too cautious to discourage his friends by any such disclaimer, though at the same time he clearly saw the precarious character of his popularity, and he warned some of his own countrymen, who were dwelling with exultation on the fervour with which the Londoners had received him, that the very same people who cried "Hosannah" to-day, might, perhaps, be equally loud in crying "Crucify him" to-morrow.

The 22nd January, 1689, was the day appointed for the meeting of the Convention, and during the earlier days of the month the nation was fully occupied with the election of representatives. William, with a moderation which was not more wise than singular in one who was aspiring to win a Crown, it may, perhaps, also be said with a well-informed confidence in the sentiments of the great majority of the

<sup>1</sup> "Sir E. Seymour then talked very freely to me upon the state of public affairs: he said all honest men were startled at the manner of the King's being sent from Whitehall. . . . That men now began to think that the Prince aimed at something else; if he did not find him upon the bottom of his Declaration it would be impossible for honest men to serve him."—Lord Clarendon's *Diary*, January 1, 1669.

electors. carefully abstained from allowing any of the Government officials to endeavour to influence the electors. To the validity of the authority which he hoped to obtain, it was, above all things, essential that no one should be able to deny that the representatives who were sent to the House of Commons spoke the unbiassed sense of the nation. Long, however, before the elections had terminated, it was known that a great majority of those who had been returned were Whigs, such as he himself would have desired; resolved to vindicate for ever the supremacy of the old Constitutional laws over the will of any one individual, even if he were the sovereign; and convinced that the establishment of that supremacy was impossible if James remained on the throne.

There were other parties also, no one of which, however, was very formidable in numbers, though they contained many of known integrity and conspicuous ability. Some believed in the practicability of imposing conditions on James so stringent as to be beyond his power to break through; others doubted the right of the people to impose any limitation whatever on the exercise of his prerogative, and thought that the only legitimate course was to request him to return and resume his authority, trusting that the lessons as to the feelings of the nation which recent events had taught him, would lead him to abandon those pretensions which had been resisted, and, he might be sure, would be resisted again. A fourth endeavoured at once to avoid deposing him, and yet to escape any longer submitting to his arbitrary will, and proposed that the title of King should be preserved to him, but that a Regency should be appointed to govern in his behalf as if he were a lunatic.

And with these political differences, religious differences also were largely mixed up, with, in some instances, a



counteracting effect. The Presbyterians and other Non-conformists were almost unanimous in their zeal for the elevation of William. But, of the Churchmen who held the same views, many were very little inclined to work with such associates. They still remembered the wrongs and miseries of the rebellion, and, attributing them almost wholly to the Presbyterians, refused to believe that they were capable of loyalty to any sovereign. They were jealous, too, of the favour with which the Prince had received addresses from some of the Nonconformist bodies, and doubted whether the Church of England would be entirely safe in his hands; and each party laboured diligently during the interval before the meeting of the Convention to gain converts to their views, by daily discussions, and by pamphlets, which had of late come to be recognized as powerful instruments of political warfare, but which had never before been employed in such abundance or distinguished by more powerful ability.

How close the contest was likely to be in the House of Peers may be judged from the circumstance that during the first three or four days after the Convention met, the Prelates who officiated read or omitted the prayer for King James, according to their own bias, till at last Lord Halifax, who desired its omission, was driven to the strange and unseemly expedient of causing the House to be opened without prayer at all as the only means of preventing some of the Bishops from reading the prayer in spite of him. The division between the parties would have been closer still, if James himself had not, with an obstinate fatuity which is almost incredible, contrived to exasperate his enemies still more, and to disarm his friends almost at the very moment of the first meeting of the Convention. He sent over a letter addressed to the Privy Council, and



countersigned by Lord Melfort, as if on purpose to show that that nobleman, who had originally earned his goodwill and the hatred of all his subjects by exchanging Protestantism for Popery, was now his confidential minister. The letter itself was understood to be even more offensive than the signature, so that Lord Preston himself, to whom it had been forwarded for delivery, and who was still faithful to the interests of his old master, thought it best to suppress it; but the knowledge that such a letter had been sent could not fail to do James harm, and to weaken his supporters.

The eventful day, the 22nd of January, arrived; both sides mustered in strength, though all the efforts of those who were conscientiously averse to the nomination or recognition of any other King during the lifetime of James, failed to induce the Primate to attend. Lord Halifax was appointed Speaker of the House of Peers. Mr. Powle, member for Cirencester, who in the reign of Charles II. had distinguished himself as one of the most strenuous advocates of the Exclusion Bill, and had been Chairman of the meeting in December, became Speaker of the Commons; a choice very significant of the views of the majority of that House, as the order of the proceedings which should be adopted was understood to be of the inclinations of both Houses.

Some Tory members in the Commons contrived that the 28th should be fixed by them as the day on which they would take into consideration the state of the nation, hoping, as was supposed, that before that day the Lords would have passed some resolution which should be not incompatible with the preservation of James's authority, and which should also, in some degree, hamper the Commons and prevent them from adopting a vote of a different

tenor ; but Halifax, who had abandoned all idea of saving James, ever since his efforts as a mediator and peace-maker had been nullified by his treacherous flight, carried out even while the Marquis was executing his commission, saw through this manœuvre ; and determined that the Commons, as more immediately the representatives of the people, should be the first to declare their opinion. Being Speaker of the House of Lords, he could not, with propriety, himself make a motion to that effect, but he instigated the Earl of Devonshire to do so. The Earl, who had more straightforwardness than tact, provoked some needless hostility to his proposal, by alleging as his reason for the postponement of the consideration of the state of the nation by the Peers till the 29th, that “they might, by “ that time, be able to gather some lights from below, which “ would be of use to them.” But the motion was carried, and both sides waited impatiently till the opening of the next week.

The agitation increased. Those who hoped to place William on the throne were encouraged by an address which, on the 25th, was brought to the Prince from the leading noblemen of several counties in Ulster, who had formed an association for their defence against the Irish (as they expressed it), and who represented in warm terms how imminent was the danger to which they were exposed. On the other hand, those who were unfavourable to the Prince, with the Earl of Clarendon at their head, endeavoured to place obstacles in his way, by exciting against him the jealousy of the Princess Anne ; whose right to the throne in the event of her sister’s death, was undeniable ; and who would clearly be most unjustly treated if William were preferred to her without her consent. But though, while

Clarendon was urging his arguments on her and her husband, they declared that they would never agree to be set aside, Lord and Lady Churchill had an influence over them greatly superior to his, and had little difficulty in obtaining from the Princess that consent which she had declared to her uncle that she would never give.

On Monday the 28th, the Commons, in pursuance of their vote of the preceding week, resolved themselves into a Committee of the whole House, to take the state of affairs into consideration. The first, and most important question manifestly was, whether the royal authority should or should not be preserved to James. It can hardly be said that this point was debated ; so evident was the feeling of an overwhelming majority that he should no longer be King. The idea of a Regency was mentioned, only to be summarily discarded. A proposal for an adjournment, which seemed as if intended to give time for some negotiation, met a similiar fate. The real question was, what grounds should be alleged for refusing any longer to acknowledge James as King ; and this was debated with great historical learning, deep knowledge of Constitutional law, and the keenest subtlety of argument.

One party seemed to have such a feeling of the desirableness of a revolution, as to wish to found the step which they were about to take on principles which should lay a foundation for future revolutions. Another party desired to make as little revolution as could be consistent with a change of the Sovereign, and therefore to base their proceedings on acts and reasonings not likely to be drawn into a precedent. The first, therefore, wished to establish the principle that James had forfeited the throne by misgovernment. The other argued, that he had voluntarily ceded the throne by

his flight from the kingdom. And the real debate was raised on the point whether misgovernment could forfeit the Crown ; whether a King on his accession had entered into such a contract with his people to govern according to law, that a violation of that contract absolved his subjects from their allegiance. The lawyers had little difficulty in proving this point. They showed from the old records that William the Conqueror, before he was received as King, promised to keep the laws of Edward the Confessor. That promise had been renewed by more than one of his successors ; so, too, had the Great Charter been granted by John, and been confirmed by kings subsequent to John.

What was even more to the purpose was, that later records, such as the rolls of Parliament, showed that, for violations of these laws and this Charter, Edward II. and Richard II. had been formally deposed. Nor had the legality of these depositions been ever questioned. The arguments to prove that James's violations of the law had been sufficient to justify them in applying these precedents to his case were hardly so strong ; they rested this part of the case on his having made a treaty with Rome ; on his having unsettled the whole system of government and property in Ireland, so as to put the English settlers and the Protestant religion in that kingdom in the power of the Irish and the Papists ; on his exercise of the dispensing power, which he had so stretched as to take away not only the laws to which it was applied, but all other laws whatever, by the precedent which it established ; on his having invaded the liberty of the Church by his ecclesiastical commission ; and, finally, on his having deserted his people and fled to a foreign land. But some of these acts were clearly not illegal, and could hardly be branded with any harsher term than impolicy ; others were

rather strainings of prerogatives admitted to exist, but never before so extensively applied, nor wrested to objects so unpalatable,<sup>1</sup> than distinct and tangible violations of the letter of the law ; while undoubtedly no law of any country so fettered the Sovereign's movements as to make an occasional and temporary quitting of it a crime.

The truth was, that the King's criminality was made up of a number of small offences against the spirit of the Constitution, from which, when taken together, a resolution to render his power absolute, and to trample on the chartered rights of his people, was legitimately inferred. The eagerness for despotic authority was, moreover, rendered the more intolerable by the object for which it was manifestly sought, the re-establishment of Popery ; and it was felt, even more strongly than it was argued, that there could be no safety for either the civil or religious rights of the subject under a King whose notions of his lawful power were such as had been asserted by James, and who was unalterably resolved to exercise it as he had exercised it. Still those who admitted the conclusion were far from being agreed upon the premises ; and the resolution which was eventually moved and adopted showed in a curious manner the necessity which its framers felt of uniting all parties. It affirmed " That King James II., having endeavoured to subvert the " Constitution of the kingdom by breaking the original contract between King and people, and by the advice of Jesuits " and other wicked persons having violated the fundamental " laws, and having withdrawn himself out of his kingdom,

<sup>1</sup> " The judgment in favour of his (James II.) prerogative to dispense " with the test was far more according to received notions of law, far less " imperious and unconstitutional, than that which gave a sanction to ship- " money."—HALLAM, vol. III. p. 114, Ed. 1832.

“ has abdicated the government, and that the throne is “ thereby vacant.”

This resolution the Commons passed without a division. The next morning it was sent to the Lords, who followed the example of the Commons in resolving themselves into a Committee of the whole House, but who were by no means inclined to pass the resolution as a whole, by a single vote. They determined to debate it clause by clause. But the Earl of Danby was hardly put in the chair before another resolution was brought up to them by which the Commons had voted that it was inconsistent with the welfare and safety of the nation to be governed by a Roman Catholic King. This seemed to render much of the former resolution superfluous, since it led directly to the deposition of James for a reason not included in that resolution. And to the contract between King and people, the existence of which was affirmed in it, it added a stipulation which had certainly never been in it before.

It might, perhaps, be fairly argued that it was implied in the Test Act, since, if it were dangerous to allow a Roman Catholic to be an officer or a magistrate, it was still more dangerous to allow one to be the head of all officers and magistrates ; but it certainly had never been expressed, and it was an adoption of the principle of that Exclusion Bill which, in the preceding reign, the Peers had rejected. However, this second vote was adopted by the Peers without discussion or demur. And it apparently contributed to another question also being taken into consideration before they proceeded to dissect and decide on the great resolution ; for the Tory Peers were willing to acquiesce in James being deprived of the reality of power, provided the name of King were left to him ; and therefore insisted that the

next matter to be determined was, whether it might not be a sufficient security for freedom to appoint a Regent who, during the King's lifetime, should exercise the kingly power in his name.

This plan, which, as we have seen, had been summarily rejected by the Commons, had been devised by the Primate ; but he still kept aloof from the House, and the task of advocating it fell on others, on Lord Nottingham, who made the formal motion that a Regency should be established ; on Lord Godolphin ; and, above all, on Lord Rochester, who marshalled and enforced all the arguments which could be adduced for it with great earnestness and eloquence. They were, however, but few, and those weak. Its advocates appealed to texts in St. Paul's epistles, which, it was contended, laid down the duty of non-resistance, and enjoined the Romans to submit to Nero. They drew a distinction between the authority of the Sovereign and his person. They compared James, by reason of his perverseness, superstition, and obstinacy, to a lunatic, who had become incapable of managing his own affairs ; and to Henry VI., who had fallen into a state of imbecility ; and contended that therefore a Regent might be appointed to govern for him as the Duke of York had governed for Henry, and as guardians in numberless instances for lunatics. And, finally, they argued that such a course as was now recommended would save the consciences of those who had taken the oath of allegiance to James, and who could not, without perjury, during his lifetime, transfer their allegiance to another King, though no such guilt would be incurred by acknowledging the authority of a Regent. The last argument was, perhaps, the weakest of all ; for how could it be pretended that the allegiance promised was not equally



violated by obeying a Regent in opposition to the King, as by obeying another King? To affirm this was to justify and imitate the conduct of the leaders of the Rebellion of 1642, who made out commissions in the King's name to fight against him. It was the sophism of a casuist rather than the reasoning of a statesman. But the arguments of Lord Halifax and Lord Danby, who were the most eloquent advocates of the resolution of the Commons, were of a more practical character.

Every instance in our history proved a Regency to be a weak government, though in none had there been a divided or rival authority; in the last case, the successive Regents during the minority of Edward VI. had notoriously each in his turn enjoyed the full favour and approval of the youthful King. But a Regent who was to govern in the name of a King who was of full age, who protested against his original appointment and against every one of his acts, and who would unquestionably have many partisans within the kingdom to support his protests, would find himself in a situation of helpless embarrassment. There would in effect be two kings at the same time; one having the title without the power, the other the power without the title; and each, from the very nature of his position, inevitably and unalterably hostile to the other. Nor did there seem any probable end to this embarrassment. It could not be expected that there would be only one Regency. Both Houses had just agreed that no Roman Catholic sovereign should ever govern the kingdom. But the infant Prince of Wales, if his legitimacy were once admitted, would eventually succeed to his father's title; and would certainly be educated in the Roman Catholic faith; so that, until the whole male line of the Stuarts became extinct, there would be a constant necessity



for a series of Regents ; each of whom must be appointed by Parliament, an arrangement which would practically be tantamount to an elective monarchy.

Another most cogent argument for the appointment of a new King was found in the statute of Henry VII. which secured from all punishment, and from all accusation of treason, any one who should obey “the King and Sovereign Lord of this land for the time being.” So that those who should submit to the Prince of Orange, as bearing the title of King, would be protected, if the King should succeed in recovering his authority ; but no such defence could be pleaded to a charge of obeying a Regent in opposition to the commands of the only King. The position of the Regent himself would also be less safe, since a conspiracy against such an officer would not involve the guilt of treason. Nor was the appointment of a Regent in the least more consistent with the oath of allegiance which had been taken to James, than the appointment of a new King ; for the oath of allegiance certainly bound men to preserve to James not only his title, but his prerogative and power ; and to transfer these to a Regent was as clearly a violation of that oath as the transference of his title. The oath was conditional on the King’s respecting his people’s rights and the established laws, and the mutual obligation was compared to that subsisting between husband and wife, where the violation of the marriage vows on one side was held to justify the release of the other. If the King broke the condition on his part, the subjects were released from their obligation. But they could not be released in part ; they must be released wholly or not at all.

The debate lasted the whole day, the division not being taken till 8 in the evening, when it appeared that, though the

preponderance of argument was great on the side of the Whigs, yet so strong was the Tory party in the House, that in a House of 100 Peers, the majority against the Regency was only 2. Had the Primate attended, the decision would, in all probability, have been different. The next day the Lords proceeded to discuss the resolution which had been sent up from the Commons. The clause which recognized a contract between the Sovereign and the people as the foundation of the Monarchy was stoutly contested, for it was admitted that no law or charter contained an express mention of it; but it was argued fairly that it was implied in every legal government, and that the whole series of our annals proved that the nation had at all times given its obedience in consideration of the laws being confirmed and preserved; and, finally, a majority of 7 carried the clause. Against the assertion of James's misgovernment, not one Lord raised his voice. But the statement that, by quitting the country, he had abdicated the Government met a different fate. It was contended that the expression implied an intention to resign, which notoriously had not been entertained by James, and the Peers were almost unanimous in preferring to allege that he had deserted the Government.

This was but a verbal dispute, but the debate the next day turned on a point of the greatest practical importance. The votes already passed had decided that James was no longer King. The question arose whether it followed from this fact that the throne was vacant. On the decision of this point it depended whether the two Houses had a right to fill up the vacancy; or whether, at the very moment that James ceased to be Sovereign, by abdication, or by desertion, or in consequence of the votes which had just been passed,

his next heir succeeded to the throne. And on this point those who had carried the House with them in the previous divisions, Lord Halifax and Lord Danby, differed ; Lord Danby affirmed that the fundamental maxim of our Monarchical law was, that the throne was never vacant ; but that the moment of the termination of one reign was also the moment of the commencement of another. And, passing over altogether the Prince of Wales, either as spurious or as incapacitated by the vote which excluded all Roman Catholics from the succession, he inferred that at the instant when James had ceased to be King, the Princess Mary had become Queen, by her own right of birth ; that this was proved by the words of the oath of allegiance which bound those who took it, not to the King alone, but to his heirs and successors also. And that to say the throne was vacant even for an instant was to make it elective like the sovereignty of Poland.

Halifax, on the other hand, argued that, if the King's conduct dissolved the tie between his subjects and himself, it also dissolved it between them and his posterity. That an heir was one who succeeded to a dead person. No man while alive could have an heir. If the King's misconduct had released his people from their obligations to him, it must have also put them in a state in which they had a right to secure themselves for the future ; and the security to which they were entitled must be a real, not an apparent security. He therefore supported the clause which asserted the vacancy of the throne, with the avowed intention of following it up by another resolution to place the Prince of Orange on it ; not concealing his opinion that the fact of his not being the next heir was a positive recommendation since it would for ever extinguish the idea of hereditary in-

defeasible right, and those claims to absolute power which depended on the existence of such a right.

The debate was long and vehement. Some of those who favoured the opinions advanced by Halifax, but who despaired of carrying them in the face of Danby's opposition, suggested a middle way; the omission of the statement that the throne was vacant, and the substitution of the words "that the Prince and Princess of Orange be declared King and Queen." To declare that they were so, was clearly a very different thing from appointing them. But this peace-making alternative was rejected, though by no greater majority than 5; and then the vote was taken on the original question, and the clause declaring the throne vacant was rejected by 14. It was a vote which, as even those who had carried it could not fail to perceive, was full of embarrassment; for by it the two Houses were placed in opposition to each other, and both, as well as the people out of doors, were greatly agitated.

To the populace the expedient of declaring the Prince and Princess joint sovereigns was the most acceptable, and a large body of the lowest citizens signed a petition to both Houses to do so; but no party in either House would tolerate the dictation of the populace in so grave a matter, the decision of which they rightly felt belonged to themselves alone. According to the rule in all cases of difference between the two Houses, it had become necessary that a conference should be held between them, unless one or the other would give way. It was soon seen that neither would yield. On the 2nd of February the Commons resolved to adhere to their resolution, that the throne was vacant. On the 4th the Peers resolved to insist on their amendments; a renewal of the discussion in the Commons led to the same conclusion,

but, before the conference could take place, such revelations of the feelings and intentions of all the principal parties concerned were made as greatly smoothed the way for a peaceable and harmonious agreement; James, as if he had been resolved to make it impossible for any one to take his part any more, sent over another letter in the place of that which Lord Preston had wisely suppressed;<sup>1</sup> and though this also was put aside unread by both Houses, it was known to be countersigned, like the former, by the obnoxious Lord Melfort; and it was also known that, even while inviting the Convention to return to its dutiful allegiance to him, it breathed vengeance against the leaders of the Revolution.

But a knowledge of the feelings of the Prince and of the Princess was still more important for the solution of the present difficulty. William had given no indication of his, and the Princess was still in Holland. One of the Prince's confidential friends, when pressed on the subject, did venture to say that his own conjecture was that "the Prince would not like to be his wife's gentleman usher," or, in other words, would not be willing that she should be declared sole sovereign, as Lord Danby was well known to be inclined to propose. But still there was a formidable party desirous to press her claims, till Burnet, who had formerly had an opportunity of learning her feelings with respect to a contingency that then seemed more probable, divulged to some of the leaders that she had resolved, if ever she should succeed to the throne, to resign the power, with the consent of Parliament, into her husband's hands. Such a course she

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay speaks of *one* letter—Lord Clarendon's Diary, January 19th, February 2nd, seems to prove that there were two—the second being probably a repetition of the former, which, as Clarendon says, January 19th, Lord Preston, by the advice of friends, "quashed."

conceived to be prescribed by a wife's duty. And at the same time she herself, on learning the view of her rights which Danby was inclined to take, wrote a letter to that nobleman to remonstrate against being set up as a competitor to the Prince.

William also himself at last broke through the reserve which he had hitherto maintained, and, though with studied moderation, avowed the object at which he aimed. He sent for some of the principal peers, to whom alone he seems to have thought it becoming to unfold his views, and told them that, though they were certainly at liberty to establish a Regency, he would not consent to be the Regent; that, if they should make the Princess Queen, he would not occupy a subordinate post, nor take any share in the Government; that if they should decide on offering him the crown, he would accept it, but otherwise he would return to Holland. The only limitation of the ordinary rights of a King to which he would submit was, that if the Princess, his wife, should die childless, the Princess Anne should have a prior right of succession to any children whom he might have by any other wife.

He had so far the game in his hands that, after this declaration, it was plain that the Houses had no alternative but that of naming him King. One question still remained, whether he should be the sole Sovereign, in which case the Princess would be only Queen Consort; or whether she should enjoy equal rank as Queen Regnant. Halifax, feeling, as a statesman, that a divided authority was full of danger, recommended the former course, proposing to place the Princess next in succession to him; but he found the general feeling of the party so unfavourable to placing Mary in a lower rank, when her right, so far as it depended on birth,

was incontestably superior to that of her husband, that, after a long and angry discussion, he withdrew his proposal. Accordingly it was settled that the arrangement which should be recommended to the Commons was that the Prince and Princess should be joint sovereigns, of equal rank and dignity; though the administration, as the Princess herself preferred, should be entrusted to William alone. And while these discussions were going on, Lord and Lady Churchill so worked on the Princess Anne that she consented to waive her pretensions during William's life, on condition that, if her sister should leave no heirs, the succession, after his death, should be secured to herself and her children.

All difficulties being now thus smoothed away, on the 6th of February the important conference between the two Houses took place on the two amendments of the Lords which had substituted the word "deserted" for "abdicated," and which had rejected the clause declaring the throne to be vacant. The first question turned on a difference so purely verbal, and so devoid of practical importance, that it was argued very briefly. Mr. Somers, who conducted the legal argument on behalf of the Commons, contenting himself with one or two quotations from foreign writers on Constitutional law to justify the use of the term "abdicate" in the sense in which it was employed in the resolution. The second opened considerations of far greater moment. Whether it were in accordance with our national law and Constitution to affirm that the throne could be vacant, if only for a single moment, was a question which affected the very character of the Sovereignty. It affected our past history; it must affect our future history. The Commons produced one precedent which, if admitted, was decisive. The Parliament roll of the year 1399 expressly



stated that the throne was vacant during the interval between the resignation of Richard II. and the acceptance of the Duke of Lancaster as King ; and recorded the act of the Estates of the Realm, when they admitted the validity of the claim preferred by the Duke, and "consented that the said Duke should reign over them."<sup>1</sup> The Lords, in reply, produced a later roll, that of the first year of the reign of Edward IV., which showed that the record of 1399 had been annulled. But that act of Edward's Parliament had in its turn been abrogated in the first year of the reign of Henry VII., so that the roll of 1399 was restored to, and remained in, its original force.

The Conference being over, the Lords once more took the two questions into consideration. A few peers, who could not reconcile it to their consciences to join in the resolution which they were now aware would be carried, nor yet to their conviction of what the safety of the nation required to oppose it, absented themselves, but still the number that attended was greater than on any previous occasion. The expression "abdicated" was replaced in the resolution with scarcely a dissentient voice. By sixty-two votes to forty-

<sup>1</sup> Hume's comment on these transactions, c. 17, is, "The unanimous voice of Lords and Commons placed Henry on the throne; he became King, nobody could tell how or wherefore. . . . And as a concern for the liberties of the people seems to have had no hand in this revolution, their right to dispose of the Government, as well as all their other privileges, was left precisely on the same footing as before." But Hallam (*Middle Ages*, c. viii. p. 3) points out that, "in this revolution of 1399, there was as remarkable an attention shown to the formalities of the Constitution, allowance made for the men and the times, as in 1688." And he proceeds to call the two Houses in reference to their votes by which Henry was accepted as King "the Estates of the Realm" (which, indeed, was the name they gave themselves), and afterward a "Convention," because "upon the cession of the King, as upon his death, the Parliament was no more."



seven it was voted that the throne was vacant. But against the proposal to declare the Prince and Princess King and Queen of England, no one called for a division, and it was carried with apparent unanimity ; many, no doubt, not liking the measure in their hearts, but acting on the principle by which the Earl of Thanet justified his vote to Lord Clarendon: " He thought they had done ill in admitting the monarchy to be elective ; for so this vote had made it ; but he thought there was an absolute necessity of having a government, and he did not see it likely to be any other way than this." One concession was made to those who shared his feelings, in the adoption of a motion made by Lord Nottingham for such an alteration in the wording of the oaths of allegiance and supremacy as might enable that party to take them without scruple.<sup>1</sup>

The first resolutions had been first passed by the Commons, and then sent up to the Lords. The last, declaring the Prince and Princess King and Queen, reversed this order, and, having been carried by the Lords, required the acceptance of the Commons. The Commons never doubted the propriety of accepting it ; but, as an unconditional vote to that effect might have seemed to confer absolute authority on the new Sovereigns, or at least to leave the extent of their prerogatives, and consequently the degree of liberty belonging to the people, unsettled, they, with a sagacity which, on this occasion, the Peers had failed to exhibit, re-

<sup>1</sup> The alteration consisted in expunging the words "rightful and lawful," as a description of the Sovereigns, because in them "a previous title seemed to be asserted." "It was therefore said that these words could not be said of a King who had not a precedent right, but was set up by the nation. So it was moved that the oaths should be reduced to the ancient simplicity of swearing to bear faith and true allegiance to the King and Queen."—BURNET, p. 825.

solved to precede their acceptance of it by some measure which should extinguish for ever all doubts on these all-important subjects. A very little consideration showed that to pass such a number of separate acts as would be required to prevent a recurrence of the grievances which had been complained of, would require a far longer time than could be allowed ; for every circumstance of both domestic and foreign policy imperatively required that the inauguration of the new Government should be immediate.

But it was justly thought possible so to embody all the chief requirements of the nation in one large resolution that the rights of the new Sovereigns and of all their successors might be inseparably connected with, and made dependent on, the preservation of the rights and privileges of their subjects. With this view, a Committee was appointed by the Commons, which, under the presidency of Mr. Somers, speedily framed a "Declaration of Right," which should serve as a basis for future formal legislation. It recited the grievances of the late reign ; the arbitrary acts of the late King ; his contempt for and violations of the ancient laws of the kingdom ; his consequent abdication. It enumerated those fundamental principles of the Constitution, as laid down in the ancient charters, that no king could dispense with the established laws without the consent of Parliament ; that no sovereign could levy money which had not been granted by Parliament, nor maintain a standing army by his own authority ; and that Parliaments should be held frequently. Other clauses asserted the right of the subject to petition the King for the redress of grievances, the right of members of Parliament to freedom of speech, with other privileges of minor importance ; and the last clause of all embodied the resolution of the Peers

that the Prince and Princess of Orange should be declared King and Queen of England for their joint and separate lives, and settled the succession first on the posterity of Mary, next on the Princess Anne and her children, and, after them, on the posterity of William by any other wife.

It is remarkable that in this great Declaration no mention was made of the resolution to which both Houses had lately come, that the profession of the Roman Catholic religion should disqualify any one from succeeding to the throne. Nor did the Lords take notice of the omission, but, on Monday, the 11th, passed the Declaration with a few verbal amendments.

The same evening the Princess, who had been detained for some days in Holland by foul winds, reached the English coast. Her vessel sailed up the Thames, and the next morning anchored at Greenwich. On the morning of the 13th, she with her husband held a grand Court in the noble banqueting-house of Whitehall Palace. A large body of Peers, headed by the Marquis of Halifax, and a still larger number of the House of Commons, headed by the Speaker Powle, came forward ; and Lord Halifax, speaking for the whole Convention, prayed their Highnesses to hear the Declaration of Right, which had been agreed to by both the Houses. It was read by the Clerk of the House of Lords ; and then Halifax preferred a second request, that their Highnesses would accept the Crown in accordance with the concluding terms of that Declaration. William in a brief speech "thankfully accepted," for himself and the Princess, what the Estates of the Realm offered them ; promised to guide his conduct by the laws, to study in all matters to promote the welfare of the kingdom, and constantly to seek the advice of both Houses of Parliament. The members

of both Houses retired, descended into the Court-yard of the Palace, where the heralds were awaiting them, and then, amid the beating of drums and the flourishes of trumpets, the Chief Herald, Garter King at Arms, proclaimed William and Mary King and Queen of England ; the surrounding populace ratified the proclamation and promised their loyal allegiance by enthusiastic cheers, and the English Revolution was completed.

## CHAPTER IX.

State of feeling in Scotland during the last part of the Year 1688—A meeting of the leading Scotchmen takes place in London, Jan. 7th, 1689—They request him to convoke the Estates of Scotland—Great riots in Scotland—William's language on the subject of religion—The Estates are opened by a letter from William—He recommends an Union with England—Time-serving policy of the chief Scotch nobles—The Estates declare William and Mary King and Queen of Scotland—They prefer a claim of right which abolishes episcopacy—Conduct of those who continue to adhere to James—Character and views of Lord Dundee—He takes arms in the cause of James—The Battle of Killiecrankie and death of Dundee—Great importance of his loss.

BUT the decisions of an English Parliament had as yet no authority in Scotland or Ireland. Those two kingdoms were alike in this respect, though widely different in the view which they took of the recent events. In Scotland, where the vast majority of the people were Protestants, though of various denominations, James's policy and objects had long caused great discontent, though the presence of several English regiments in the country stifled its expression. But when they were withdrawn to make head against William in the south of England, the feelings of the people, the curb being removed, could no longer be restrained. They broke out in fierce riots, if it may not be said in open insurrection. Lord Perth, the Chancellor, was seized and thrown into prison. The Pope was burnt in effigy. Holyrood Palace, because the Royal Chapel had lately been

used for Roman Catholic worship, was broken into and plundered. The lords of the Privy Council, sharing the general enthusiasm, issued an order for disarming all Roman Catholics, and inviting all Protestants to come forward and defend the true religion. And, when it became known that James had fled from England, and that the administration was for the time in the hands of the Prince, a large party of Peers and gentlemen of influence went up to London to watch the course which events might take.

They reached London on the first day of the new year ; and, on the 7th of January, William invited them to consult together, as he had formerly invited the leading Englishmen. They met under the presidency of the Duke of Hamilton, and after a long debate passed resolutions similar to those which the English Councillors had adopted a fortnight before ; requesting the Prince to take upon himself the temporary administration of the Government, and to call together the Estates of Scotland, as he had already summoned the two Houses of the English Parliament. He willingly expressed his compliance with a request the expectation of which had been his chief reason for inviting their deliberations. The 14th of March was fixed for the meeting of the Estates ; and Hamilton and his colleagues returned to their own country to prepare for it.

In one important respect William departed in Scotland from the line of conduct which he had observed in England. He took upon himself by his own authority to annul various sentences of forfeiture and deprivation which, within the last few years, had been passed against the Earl of Argyll and other Peers, and sent them or their representatives summonses to take their places in the Estates. And in the same manner he also repealed the law which required every

elector for a county or borough to renounce the Covenant, and which thereby deprived the Presbyterians of the elective franchise ; but both the acts were so completely in harmony with the national feeling that no complaint was made of such an exercise of his power, though no more arbitrary act had ever been committed by James, and though it was obviously intended to secure the presence of such Peers and such representatives of the people as should be favourable to the Prince's views.

Not, indeed, that these new regulations at first produced tranquillity. The Scotch elections were not conducted with the order and quiet that had distinguished those in England. In the northern kingdom, the Protestants were, perhaps, pretty equally divided between Episcopalians and Presbyterians ; but the latter, who were drawn principally from the lower classes, regarded the former with a bitter enmity : and, even before the intelligence of the King's second flight had crossed the border, had begun to attack the established clergy with all the ferocity of fanaticism. In the blindness of their bigotry and rejection of all ancient ceremonies and observances, they had denounced the practice of keeping holy even those anniversaries which were connected with the name and life of the Redeemer himself ; and now, to mark their hatred of those who regarded Christmas Day as a solemn and glorious festival, they selected it, especially in the western counties, for a general onslaught on all who did not share their prejudices. They broke into the vicarages of the clergy, tore their robes, beat them, carried them about their parishes in insulting processions ; turned their wives and families out of doors, though the snow was on the ground ; destroyed their furniture and property, locked or barred up the church doors ; and threatened the priests

with instant death if they ever entered it or performed divine service there again.

As the country was wholly denuded of troops, there were no means of repressing these outrages : impunity encouraged further lawlessness, till the Presbyterian ministers proceeded to more organized insolence. Professing to be horrified at the conduct of some individuals in the different mobs, who had not only insulted and beaten the Episcopalian clergy, but had also robbed them, they convened a meeting of their own body, at which, under pretence of saving them from further outrage, they drew up a formal notice to the different clergymen whom these mobs had not yet expelled, requiring them to offer no resistance, but to quit their parishes peaceably, lest a worse thing should happen to them. It was to no purpose that William issued a proclamation denouncing and forbidding such acts. The rioters grew more bold week by week. At first their violence had been confined to the rural districts, but the very day after the proclamation reached Glasgow, they rose in that, already the second city in Scotland ; stormed the Cathedral, and, with murderous assaults, drove out the congregation, which was assembled for divine service, and was naturally unprovided with any means of defence ; and presently penetrated into Edinburgh itself, where their threats and numbers caused general terror.

The Scotch Bishops appealed in vain to William for some protection more effectual than a proclamation which was disregarded. At such a distance he had no means of affording it, and was not even inclined to give any which should have the appearance of a pledge to preserve the existing arrangements. Though not an irreligious man, he was indifferent to forms of religion. Calvinism was the



doctrine in which he had been brought up, and, though he apparently would have preferred to see the episcopal system established throughout these kingdoms as more in harmony with a monarchy, he was too indifferent on the subject to be inclined to force it on any population that was reluctant to receive it. His answer, therefore, to the Scotch prelates was that the Estates themselves must settle the ecclesiastical arrangements; that, if the Bishops supported his Government, he on his part would do his best to preserve them, while granting ample toleration to the Presbyterians; but that, if they opposed the new settlement of the Government, and if a great majority in their Parliament should condemn Episcopacy, he could not make a war for them, and should at most only be able to secure for them the same indulgence which under other circumstances he promised the Presbyterians. But the Bishops placed their hopes on another, and paid no regard to the conditions on which William's inclination to maintain them not unnaturally depended.

On the 14th of March the Scottish Estates met. William could not leave London to open them in person, but he sent down a letter to point out to them the different matters to which he desired to direct their attention; he professed a general attachment to Protestantism, without indicating any preference for either Episcopacy or Presbytery; but added to the recommendations which he had addressed to the English Convention, the expression of his warm approval of a measure for which many of their body who had waited on him in England had declared their anxiety, an union between the two kingdoms. Such a measure had been among the earliest projects of James I. The idea had been again revived under Charles II., and by the winter of 1670 some progress had even been made in a treaty by

which it was to be carried out, when circumstances which are not clearly explained, but which probably had their origin in religious difficulties, caused it to be abandoned. It was, as we all know, accomplished not many years after William's death, and has produced to both countries all the advantages that could have been anticipated by its warmest advocate ; yet it was hardly judicious to bring it forward at this moment, or to mix it up with other matters which more required instant determination.

As in the English Convention, there were two parties. And the very opening ceremony showed how strong the opposers of the new Government believed themselves to be, since the Bishop of Edinburgh introduced into the prayer with which the meeting was opened a petition for the restoration of King James ; but the first vote of the Estates proved to them that they deceived themselves. It was felt by both sides that the election of a President would be a test of their strength, and the choice of a large majority fell upon the Duke of Hamilton, who had given in his adhesion to William, in preference to the Duke of Athol, who fancied himself slighted by him, and, full of mortified pride, now proclaimed himself a supporter of James. It was a curious instance of the time-serving meanness of the generality of politicians of that day, as well as of their uncertainty as to which party would eventually get the upperhand, that the heirs of both these great Dukes took different sides from their fathers. Lord Arran adhered to the King ; the Marquis of Tullibardine declared for the Prince ; with a view of, in any event, preserving the family title and estates from forfeiture.

And this continued to be the policy of many of the most influential Scotchmen for the next two generations ; so that

in the rebellion of 1745 the father and his eldest son were often found in the opposite camps. This want of principle was, however, now of great advantage to William. The moment that the bias of the Estates was thus decisively shown by the election of the Duke of Hamilton, a large section of the Jacobite minority went over to the majority, and their conversion rendered the settlement of affairs easy, as far as the Estates were concerned. One party did indeed avail itself of William's recommendation of an union to urge that the arrangement of that measure should be treated as an inseparable part of the proposed settlement of the whole Government, and that therefore the existing interregnum should be prolonged till the necessary treaty with the English Parliament should be concluded. And those who advocated this course were supported by the whole body of the Jacobites,<sup>1</sup> who saw that it must cause a great delay, and rightly conceived that any delay was favourable to the prospects of James.

But the same reason prompted all who desired the establishment of William and Mary to exert themselves the more to accomplish an immediate settlement; and they were so successful that, on the 11th of April, the same day on which the new King and Queen of England were crowned at Westminster, the Estates passed a vote in very nearly the words of the English resolution,<sup>2</sup> which

<sup>1</sup> The name Jacobites was not yet adopted as the badge of the party, but it is convenient to use it from the beginning.

<sup>2</sup> There were a few alterations which were necessitated by the difference between the circumstances of England and Scotland. It could not be said in Scotland that James had abdicated the throne by quitting the kingdom, because he had never been in Scotland since he had been King. The Estates had therefore, in declaring that he was no longer King, no alternative but that of declaring that he had "forfeited" the throne by his misgovernment.

declared that James had forfeited the throne, and acknowledged the English Sovereigns as King and Queen of Scotland also. And they further imitated the English Convention in their precautions for the future, and on the part of the whole Scotch people framed "a claim of rights," the chief article of which was an assertion that "the Reformation in Scotland having been begun by a party among the clergy, all prelacy in that Church was a great and insupportable grievance." The conclusion certainly did not follow from the premiss, and it was equally certain that what they claimed had not only never been enacted by Scotch law, but that it was directly contrary to laws which were established and notorious. But their object was to make the establishment of Presbyterianism a condition on which the crown was to be held in future; and the insertion of the clause was acquiesced in even by some of those who preferred Episcopacy to any other form of government, but who saw danger to the new settlement in leaving the question open, and who thought the securing a tranquil commencement of their reign to the new Sovereigns an object of paramount importance above every other.

The pressure of business in London prevented the new King and Queen from coming to Scotland to be crowned; nor, indeed, had any of the descendants of James I. gone through that ceremony. It had been thought sufficient for them to take the Scotch coronation oath; and, in accordance with these precedents, at the beginning of May three members of the Estates, representing the Peers, the county members, and the borough members, were despatched to London to administer the oath to them. The ceremony was as nearly as possible the same as that which had been observed when, in February, Lord Halifax had requested

their acceptance of the English Crown. William and Mary received the Commissioners at Whitehall seated under a canopy of state, and attended by all the chief officers of the Court, and a splendid retinue of English nobles. The Earl of Argyll, as the Chief Commissioner, read the oath clause by clause ; and both King and Queen repeated the words after him till they came to the last clause, to which they declined to swear without qualification. It bound them to root out all heretics and enemies of the true worship of God ; and it was notorious that by the fierce narrow-minded bigotry of a large party in Scotland, Episcopalians, Lutherans, Baptists, Quakers, nay, even those of the Presbyterians who had not subscribed to the "Solemn League and Covenant," were classed as "malignants and sectaries," enemies of the true worship.

William was not inclined to bind himself to persecute nine-tenths of his new subjects, and had previously given the Commissioners notice of the course which he designed to take. When, therefore, Argyll had recited that article of the oath, the Sovereigns paused. "I will not," said William, "bind myself to become a persecutor." "Neither the words of this oath nor the laws of Scotland impose any such obligation on your Majesties," was Argyll's reply. William called on all present to witness that he swore to this last clause only with this reservation ; then he repeated that clause also ; and in Scotland as in England the revolution was completed.

The rapidity with which these transactions had been settled in the Scotch Estates had been in no small degree owing to the fear which the Whig leaders entertained of the military resources of those who had not yet renounced their allegiance to James. His post of Governor of Edinburgh

Castle gave great importance to the conduct of the Duke of Gordon, one of the few Scotch nobles who belonged to the Romish Church ; but the most important man of the party was Viscount Dundee, an officer of the most enterprising courage, and of high professional skill. Though nearly two centuries have passed since that brilliant soldier fell on the field of victory, his history is even now rarely written without a strong tincture of party feeling, and it is consequently easier to ascertain the leading facts of his career during these, the last few months of his life, than the motives which led him to resolve on the course which he finally adopted.

During the later years of the reign of Charles II., Dundee, then Colonel Graham of Claverhouse, had been sent at the head of a small body of troops into the western lowlands to act against some bodies of Covenanters, who, after murdering Sharpe, the Archbishop of St. Andrews, had risen in open insurrection against the Government. As a zealous servant of both King and Church, he seems to have regarded the most rigorous chastisement of those who were both rebels and Nonconformists as imposed upon him by every principle of both civil and military duty ; accordingly he treated not only those whom he took with arms in their hands, but sometimes even the preachers and the peaceful members of their congregations, with merciless severity. Such severity he, indeed, affirmed to be the truest mercy to the whole country, by its effect in repressing or its promptitude in extinguishing disorders. But those who felt the weight of his hand could hardly be expected to coincide in that view ; and he was in his turn regarded by every Presbyterian in Scotland with a deep feeling of personal hatred, which, because of his pre-eminence in ability,

visited on his head not only his own fierce deeds, but the cruel persecutions of others of higher authority and far more pitiless temper than himself.

He had been one of the officers who, on the first intelligence of William's invasion, had been summoned in haste with his regiment to the King's aid. At Salisbury he had warmly, but with far better faith, supported Churchill's advice to attack the Prince's army on its advance ; and when his counsel was rejected he had, in obedience to the King's orders, fallen back with the whole Scotch division under his orders, to the neighbourhood of London. But he was preparing to make his peace with the Prince, to whom he was favourably known, and under whom he had served at Senef, when James returned to Whitehall. Resolved never to desert his old master while he was true to himself, Dundee also repaired to Whitehall, and undertook the commission of at once returning with the Earl of Balcarras to Scotland, to act as the King's Commander-in-Chief in that kingdom, while the Earl should conduct the civil government. But before they could leave London, James once more fled ; and on this Dundee and Balcarras both apparently thought themselves released from their allegiance, so far as to be at liberty to make terms for themselves with the Prince. They were not ignorant that some of the opposite party in their own country had already urged him to proscribe them ; but they were also, in all probability, aware that he had refused to do so. Balcarras, who was connected with the House of Orange by marriage, addressed himself directly to William ; Dundee employed the mediation of Burnet. They would not assist in overturning the throne of him whom they still regarded as their King ; but they would submit and live quietly under William's Government if it should be estab-



lished; and he on his part promised them protection if they lived peaceably at home, and kept within the law.<sup>1</sup> They returned to Scotland. But before the day fixed for the meeting of the Estates, James had again opened communications with them, and they began to waver. They learnt that he was preparing to return to his kingdoms to strike a blow for his throne, and that Louis had promised him ample supplies of arms and money.

It was evidently doubtful what shape events might take, and they were both unwilling to take any step which might lessen his chances of success. They resolved to temporize, and to attend the meeting of the Estates; and Dundee persuaded the Duke of Gordon to temporize also, and at least to delay evacuating the Castle. But still they so far kept faith with William that they abstained from all active resistance, and both signed the resolution which was agreed to by the great majority of the Convention, to disregard any order for their dissolution which might be sent, even by James himself, and to continue their sittings till they should have placed the civil and religious liberties of the kingdom on a secure footing.

The two friends, however, were not entirely in the same position. Balcarras had never provoked any personal

<sup>1</sup> Lord Macaulay, who never mentions Dundee without a strange and almost personal bitterness, second only to that in which he speaks of Marlborough, says, "Dundee seems to have been less ingenuous" than Balcarras (vol. III., p. 270), but Burnet, who was the mediator employed by Dundee, shows that both the Lords behaved with equal candour; they were willing to promise submission, not adherence. Burnet's words are, "he had employed me to carry messages from him to the King, to know what security he might expect if he should go and live in Scotland without owning his Government. The King said if he would live peaceably and at home he would protect him; to this he answered, that unless he was forced to it, he would live quietly."—Vol. II., p. 22.



enmities; but it was well known that a large party among the extreme Presbyterians regarded Dundee with deadly animosity; and he received information, which he fully believed, that a number of them had conspired to assassinate him. He applied to the Duke of Hamilton, as President of the Convention, for a guard. Hamilton, who was probably jealous of him, and who certainly bore him no goodwill, referred him to the Convention. But, when at the next meeting of that body, his complaint was brought before it, the Estates disregarded his application, and passed on to the consideration of other matters. Dundee collected a small body of cavalry as his escort, and fled to his castle at the foot of the Grampian Hills, where he gave sufficient proof of the sincerity with which he had expressed to William his willingness to submit to his Government by living in perfect quiet. He was even so reluctant to afford any pretext for misconstruction of the motives of his retirement, that he offered to return and resume his place in the Estates if they would ensure him protection; and to give bail, or, what with such a man was a far more powerful bond, to pledge his honour to do nothing to disturb the new settlement.

For what followed, the Duke of Hamilton is more responsible than he. Hamilton seems to have feared and hated him with all the jealousy of an inferior and treacherous spirit,<sup>1</sup> and to have been on the watch for any pretext to

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay's description of Hamilton is—"Not till the Dutch troops were at Whitehall had he ventured to speak out. Then he had joined the victorious party, and had assured the Whigs that he had pretended to be their enemy only in order that he might, without incurring suspicion, act as their friend."—Vol. III., p. 272. One can hardly do injustice to a man who gives this description of his own conduct, except by suspecting him of any honourable action.

attack him ; and that men in power can usually find when they seek it.

James, as has been already mentioned, had crossed over to Ireland just at the time when the Estates met at Edinburgh, in the hope of, at all events, retaining his hold on that kingdom. And it was evident that his enterprise would be greatly assisted if his adherents could at the same time find William occupation in Scotland also. With this object he proposed to reopen communications with Dundee and Balcarras ; and Lord Melfort, whom he still regarded with pertinacious favour, was ordered to write to them. The messenger who bore the letters was intercepted, and his packet was brought to the Duke of Hamilton. The letters professed to express the intentions of James after his restoration, of which the writer seemed to entertain no doubt, should be accomplished ; and, as usual, they breathed nothing but vengeance against all the adherents of the new Government. It was as foolish as it was unjust to visit such impotent ravings upon those to whom they were addressed, but whom they had never reached. But Hamilton caught at the mere fact of their having been sent as a plea to gratify his own malice, and at once issued warrants for the arrest of the two nobles. Balcarras, who was still in Edinburgh, was at once apprehended and thrown into prison. But the news of his seizure, and of what was designed against himself, reached Dundee before the officers of the Convention could arrive to execute the warrants ; which, as he had kept around him a small band of his old soldiers for his protection, they were probably in no great hurry to attempt. He felt almost compelled to become a rebel in his own defence. He fled from his house, resolved, as his only means of safety, to take arms

in the cause of his former sovereign; and the peculiar circumstances of the country enabled him to carry out his resolution with formidable effect.

The inhabitants of the Scottish Highlands differed widely from those of every other part of the three kingdoms. They knew little about the Royal authority or the ordinary laws; but they paid a blind obedience to the chiefs of their respective clans; and the chieftains, in the part which from time to time they took in the strife of parties, and the factions and divisions of the Empire, were influenced far more by their mutual attachments or jealousies than by any views of general policy. The predominant feeling of many of them was a fear and hatred of the Earl of Argyll, the chief of the Campbells, with whom the Grahams, to whom Dundee belonged, had been at deadly feud ever since they had taken different sides in the great rebellion, and the great Montrose, the head of the Grahams, had been sacrificed to the successful enmity of his less chivalrous, but more crafty rival. Argyll himself had been put to death at the restoration; his son, as has been mentioned, had met a similar fate in the first year of James's reign; and his grandson, adhering to the politics of his family, was now recognized through Scotland as the leader of the party which sought the final overthrow of the Stuart dynasty.

It followed that all the Highland chieftains who were unfriendly to the Campbells were unfriendly also to the new sovereigns, whom Argyll supported. And of this feeling Dundee now took skilful advantage. With statesmanlike diplomacy, or, if that be too strong an expression, with a thorough insight into the character of his countrymen, and a masterly skill in working on the passions and

prejudices of the various chiefs, conciliating, mediating, sparing neither his own labour nor his own purse, he won to his side several gallant and influential leaders. By the 18th of May, Cameron of Lochiel, all the chiefs of the different branches of the Macdonalds, Sleat, Glengarry, Clanronald, and Keppoch, with Stewart of Appin, had joined him, each at the head of several hundred men.<sup>1</sup> And during the next two months the fiery cross was sent through the different glens, and unwearied preparation was made for battle. For, at the first meeting of the Estates, William had sent from England General Mackay, a soldier of high reputation, with the Scotch regiments which he had brought over from Holland, to protect the Convention; and, from the moment that the Duke of Gordon had refused to surrender Edinburgh Castle, and that Dundee had fled from the capital, the Convention had exerted itself to strengthen his force.

Mackay would have preferred an early trial of strength, but Dundee's plan was different. He saw how important it was for James's cause that the victory on which he reckoned should be decisive. And he earnestly besought the King, who had 40,000 men in Ireland, to send him over a division of trained troops to form, as it were, the backbone of his army; for, being himself a soldier experienced in war, and knowing the value of discipline, he was unwilling, if he

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay rates the whole Highland force at Killiecrankie as scarcely above 3,000 (p. 355), but it must have been greater. He himself, as early as May, enumerates 600 under Lochiel; 400 under Glengarry; 700 under Sleat; 500 Macleans under Sir John; in all, 2,200; besides the followers of Clanronald of Keppoch, of another Maclean of Lochbuy, of Macnaghten, of Stewart of Appin; the least numerous of whom he seems (p. 358) to estimate at about 120, besides several who joined afterwards. Of whom the Murrays alone, according to Dalrymple (vol. I., p. 343), amounted to 1,000.

could avoid it, to trust wholly to Highlanders, who, though of unsurpassed vigour and bravery, had no notion of military order. The King promised the desired reinforcement; and, meanwhile, Dundee showed himself as skilful in irregular as he had previously been known to be in regular warfare; marching and countermarching; baffling all Mackay's endeavours to bring him to action; and thus gaining two objects at once, acquiring the confidence of his own followers, to whom he was previously almost a stranger, and wearing out the troops of the enemy. Mackay himself, indeed, was so wearied and disgusted by his fruitless pursuit of him, that he proposed to the Government to occupy the different passes by a chain of fortresses, as a measure indispensable to a successful campaign against foes so active, and so superior to himself in knowledge of the country.

But at the end of two months Dundee's tactics changed. He had been greatly disappointed at the reinforcement sent to him from Ireland, which, in spite of the King's promises, did not exceed 300 men, in very indifferent condition as to either their equipment or their discipline. But he had obtained the aid of several officers of rank and experience from the Lowlands. The clansmen had eagerly obeyed the summons of their chiefs. By the middle of July he had nearly 4,000 men around his standard, and he felt that he could not reckon on any great addition to his numbers, while every day might bring fresh reinforcements to Mackay, whose force already at least doubled his own. He determined, therefore, no longer to shun an engagement; and, learning that the General was marching to make himself master of Blair Castle, which was the chief stronghold of the important Athol district, he marched with all speed to anticipate him. He reached it first, and secured it for the

moment ; but he learnt at the same time that he should not be permitted to retain it without a struggle, for that Mackay, with his whole army, was pressing onward through the Pass of Killiecrankie, and was not five miles off.

Dundee had no doubt in his own mind of the propriety, under the circumstances, of encountering still greater odds, but he judged it needful to convince others also. Those of his officers who were accustomed to more disciplined armies were recommending a retreat ; and, to pacify them, he took a step which no man, as determined as he was not to be overruled, would have taken, had he felt the least uncertainty as to the advice he should receive from the majority. He called a council of war. The professional officers gave their opinions, as he had expected, against fighting regular troops with less than half their number of men, and those little better than undisciplined barbarians. But Dundee remembered the brilliant exploits which his great relative, Montrose, had achieved with a similar force, and listened rather to the counsels of the chieftains, who better knew the character of their followers. Their advice was, as he expected, of a directly opposite character, and far more positive. "If the enemy were three to one," said Lochiel, "he still would fight them at once. Highlanders were irresistible in attacking, but lost heart in a retreat, or even in a defensive position. They must either fight at once, or disband the army. There was no third course open."

Dundee had all he wanted, good ground for overruling the more prudent counsels of the scientific soldiers. The council had been held early in the morning of Saturday, July 27, and the moment it broke up he marched towards the Pass. Mackay, on his part, had been ever since day-break forcing his way through it by paths, often hardly

discernible, and in their easiest parts narrow, steep, and rugged. By mid-day he had reached the open ground on the Blair Athol side, and his men, almost exhausted with the toilsome ascent, were lying on the grass to rest and refresh themselves, when they suddenly learnt that Dundee was close at hand. Presently the Highlanders came in sight, but it took some time to array them in such an order of battle as suited their clannish habits, each clan by itself, whether its numbers were large or small, so that each chief might see how his men were bearing themselves, and each clan be stimulated to its utmost efforts by the sight of the prowess of its neighbours and rivals. And in the meantime the front lines of each army kept up a dropping but not very effectual fire on the opposite ranks.

At last, when sunset was scarcely more than an hour distant, all was ready. Dundee gave the word to advance, and his whole army raised an enthusiastic cheer when he placed himself at its head to lead them on in person. There were among them some who would gladly have seen him less conspicuous. Lochiel, "the Ulysses of the Highlands,"<sup>1</sup> as if he had such a foreknowledge of the events of the day as second sight was believed to afford to many of his countrymen, had earnestly recommended him to keep out of danger. Victory would be no victory if any harm should befall him. No one but he could conciliate the rivalries and jealousies of the different clans, and keep them in willing co-operation. He prayed him, therefore, to content himself with the duties of a Commander-in-Chief; to make his arrangements, to issue his orders, but

<sup>1</sup> It is the expression of Lord Macaulay (vol. III., p. 321), to whose brilliant descriptions I have been indebted throughout this sketch, and whose very words I have more than once ventured to borrow.



to leave those whose lives were of less value to execute them. Dundee did not deny the soundness of his friend's reasoning ; but felt, too, and urged in reply, that, since he was as yet almost a stranger to the Highlanders, he must this day win their confidence by showing himself foremost in danger. They expected to see their leaders in the thickest of the battle, and there they should this day see him. But, at the same time, he promised Lochiel that when he had thus proved to them that they could trust him, in subsequent battles he would take more care of himself.

Rejoicing in the adoption of their favourite tactics of attack, the Highlanders were full of confidence. In answer to their cheer, Mackay's men, too, had raised a shout, but it was faint and broken. "It was not," said Lochiel, "the cry of men who were going to win." Dundee himself was at the head of the whole line, with a small body of horse, not above 40, but the entire cavalry of the army, and each chief was at the head of his clan. To put himself on perfect equality with his meanest follower, Lochiel himself, though now past middle age, threw away his shoes, and, barefooted, dashed forward. The whole line rushed on rather than marched, firing as they advanced ; then, as they came to close quarters, they threw away their muskets, drew their broadswords, and with fresh cheers hurled themselves upon the opposing ranks. Mackay's infantry had no swords. Their dependence was on their bayonets, which, when they had done firing, they screwed into the muzzles of their guns. They used no bayonets this day. Before they could fix them, the Highlanders were upon them ; they could neither fire nor thrust, but were routed as unresistingly as if they had no weapons at all. Scarcely one regiment



held its ground for a moment. In vain did Mackay, who never lost his presence of mind, try to change the fortune of the day by bringing up some troops of cavalry, a force which the Highlanders were unused to encounter, and of which they entertained a superstitious dread. The troopers were dismayed at the rout of the infantry, and fled in equal disorder, and in a few minutes the battle was over. Mackay, though he exerted himself to the utmost, could not collect more than a handful of men in orderly retreat; the rest were flying in promiscuous confusion. And, had not one chance shot realized the worst fears of Lochiel, the whole army must have been destroyed.

But that one shot had struck down Dundee. Before the two armies closed, he turned round in his saddle, waving his hat, to encourage his handful of horse to a more rapid advance, and as he raised his arm a musket ball struck his uncovered side. He fell mortally wounded, but the conflict was brief enough for him to receive the assurance of his victory before his consciousness passed away. A soldier named Johnstone caught him as he fell. After a minute or two he desired him to raise his head that he might see the progress of the fight, but his eyes were already dim. "How goes the day?" said he. "Well for the King," replied Johnstone; "but I am grieved for you." "If it is well with him, it is well with me," were the last words of the dying hero. For though, when some of his friends gathered round him half an hour afterwards, life seemed to them not to be wholly extinct, he never spoke again.

Not knowing whom to obey, though presently Cannon, the general of the Irish division, took the command, the Highlanders, after plundering the baggage of the defeated enemy, retired to Blair Castle. Mackay, toiling all night, collecting stragglers, making his way through an unknown

country, and marvelling that he was not pursued, on the second day after the battle reached Stirling. The battle had been lost through no fault of his, and his exertions to retrieve it did him the highest honour. In the course of the next day or two he gathered round him a few companies which had not been at Killiecrankie, and so far restored heart and steadiness to his men that they attacked and routed a detachment which Cannon had sent to Perth for supplies. Divisions arose in the Highland camp, which, indeed, could never be kept in harmony on any condition but that of continual success. The most powerful of the chieftains refused to obey the orders of Cannon, and returned home. On the 21st of August, Cannon, with the forces that remained to him, was repulsed in an attack on Dunkeld by the Cameronians, as a regiment was called which had just been raised for William's service by the Earl of Angus, and which was composed almost wholly of men who held the Cameronian tenets, the most extreme fanatics of all the supporters of the Covenant.

The defeat completed the disunion. The clans dispersed, after signing a bond, which probably no one ever expected to be acted upon, to renew their exertions for King James whenever he should again summon them, and Cannon returned with his own division to Ireland. Mackay took the most effectual steps to render any future rising abortive, by organizing a well-designed chain of military posts through the districts which had been the theatre of the late operations. And, profiting further by his recent experience, he introduced an improvement in his men's weapons, which has since been adopted by every army in Europe. He invented a new mode of fixing the bayonet, so that it should no longer close the muzzle of the gun; but that, being fastened to the side of the barrel, it should

render the weapon available at any moment for either purpose of firing or thrusting.

The war in Scotland was over, so vast was the importance of the life of one great man. The dead hero was borne to Blair Castle, and buried in the humble village church which has long ceased to exist. As he met his fate while warring on what eventually proved the losing side, no memorial marks the place of his rest, but a stone on the field of battle still covers the spot where he was struck down, as the plate in the deck of the *Victory* preserves the memory of that where the still greater Nelson received his death-wound. Both men perished in the hour of victory, but Nelson's death produced no such results as that of Dundee; for that terminated a war at a most critical moment, and thus enabled William to direct his whole attention to the contest in Ireland, which, as we shall presently see, was every moment assuming larger proportions. Though, the very day after Killiecrankie, Londonderry was saved, and though before the end of the next week Lord Mountcashel was routed by Wolseley at Newton Butler, yet the winter campaign in Ireland, on the whole, proved decidedly unfavourable to William. And, though we may well believe that, in a contest between Princes so unequally matched as James and William, the final issue of the contest could not have been doubtful, yet it is hard to say how long it might not have been protracted, had William been compelled to divide his forces and to carry on operations at the same moment on both sides of the Channel; and a protraction of it must have been attended not only by great personal distress and suffering, but also by great political dangers, if not by serious political mischiefs, to each of the three kingdoms.

## CHAPTER X.

James lands in Ireland in March, 1689—The disturbed state of Ireland—Illegal and violent Government of Lord Tyrconnel—The Protestants refuse Lord Antrim admission into Derry—Tyrconnel disarms the Protestants, and enlists the Roman Catholics—James lays siege to Derry—Sufferings and fortitude of the Inhabitants—The siege is raised—The Battle of Newtown Butler—Violent proceedings of the Irish Parliament—The general act of attainder—Adulteration of the coinage—Schomberg's campaign in the autumn of 1689—In 1690 William takes the command—The Battle of the Boyne.

It has been already mentioned that at the end of February James quitted St. Germain's, and a fortnight later landed at Kinsale, in the county Cork, with the hope of making victories in Ireland the means of recovering his authority in England. Louis, whose idea of the kingly dignity was that it was most becomingly shown by acting as master of ceremonies on a most imposing scale of magnificence, had never had a more splendid opportunity of displaying his genius as such, than when his cousins were driven from their English throne and threw themselves on his protection and hospitality; and it cannot be denied that his conduct to them was marked not only with a truly royal liberality, but with a delicacy of good taste and kind feeling which did not commonly seem to belong to his character.

The moment that the news reached Versailles that the

Queen had landed in France, labourers were set to work to repair the road by which she was to travel. Royal carriages were sent to Calais for her conveyance ; the royal guard furnished her escort. As she approached the capital, Louis himself went to meet her with a gorgeous train of a hundred carriages-and-six. He descended from his coach to salute her, and led the way to the Palace of St. Germain, which had been already furnished for her use. When James himself arrived he was received with equal pomp. Louis requested him to consider the palace as his own, so long as he might need it, and in addition to 16,000 louis, which had been placed in his and the Queen's apartments for a present supply, allotted them also a pension of £2,000 a month.<sup>1</sup>

He had expressed a courteous hope that they would not long require a French home ; and when, after a two months sojourn at St. Germain, James's deliberations resulted in a resolution to raise his standard in Ireland, Louis equipped him for his enterprise with unstinted prodigality of resources. There was policy in the lavishness of his aid, for, in truth, it was of no little importance to himself that William should not be able to throw the weight of England into the scale against him in the war which he was now waging. He did not, indeed, furnish James with any French regiments, since it would clearly have been fatal to every hope of success for him to seem to depend for his restoration on foreign bayonets. Nor was there any deficiency of men in Ireland. But he lent him a large body of

<sup>1</sup> Lord Macaulay, without mentioning his authority, calls the pension £45,000 a year. But Madame de Sévigné, who exalts the munificence to the very utmost, as the very "image of the Almighty," says expressly that the sum was "cinquante mille francs par mois" (Letter of January 17), and St. Simon fixes it at the same sum.

skilful officers to discipline the recruits whom he might tempt to his service, and an officer whom he held in high esteem to act as Commander-in-Chief. The Count de Rosen belonged by birth to one of the noblest families of Livonia, and was connected by marriage with the celebrated Bernard, Duke of Weimar. Louis, who was generally eager to engage foreign talent in his service, had gladly employed and promoted him, and eventually raised him to the rank of Marshal. But, according to St. Simon, whose account of him probably embodies the estimate formed of him by his brother officers, his talents did not rise above those of a dashing cavalry officer, or a general of division under the orders of others; and, if they had been greater, they would have been neutralized by his coarseness of manners and extreme ferocity of disposition.

Besides these officers, Louis gave arms for 10,000 men, great quantities of ammunition, and above £100,000 of money. That James might from the first be surrounded with some of the dignity of a Court, the Count d'Avaux, than whom France had no abler diplomatist, also accompanied him as accredited ambassador, being further authorized by his master to expend large sums, if opportunity should arise, in gaining over members of the English Parliament. A splendid fleet was equipped at Brest, and on the 12th of March disembarked James and his retinue in safety at Kinsale.

He came to men who were expecting him, and who had been urgent in their entreaties that he should not delay his arrival. Ireland had been for some time in a state of great agitation. In some parts of the country civil war was already raging. Tyrconnel had been carrying out his instructions with a fierce and blind zeal, and trampling on

laws and precedents with a perfect disregard of every will but his own, which James himself could not have surpassed. He had filled the judicial bench with Papists, and had even given the seals to Alexander Fitton, a man notoriously guilty of forgery, but who, in his and his master's eyes, had atoned for his guilt by renouncing Protestantism. Another Roman Catholic, Stephen Rice,<sup>1</sup> had been made Chief Baron, for the express purpose of undoing the Act of Settlement; and he, by a series of illegal decisions, had stripped Protestant after Protestant of his estate, and confiscated charter after charter of the chief boroughs and cities of the kingdom.

In like manner the army had been purged of Churchmen and Presbyterians; and the intelligence of William's arrival in Torbay had hardly crossed the Channel when a rumour was spread abroad that Tyrconnel was meditating a renewal of the atrocities of Sir Phelim O'Neill, in a fresh massacre of every Englishman or Protestant in the island. It was not the less believed because he denied it. But those who conceived themselves thus threatened with extermination were not inclined to submit tamely to such a fate. At Bandon and Mallow in the south, and at Sligo in the west, they took arms and formed themselves into bands for self-defence. At Enniskillen, on Lough Erne, they even sallied out to encounter some companies of infantry which Tyrconnel had sent to take up their quarters among them, routed them, and drove them back to Cavan; and at Londonderry the citizens, with equal resolution, prepared for what proved a more protracted and arduous struggle.

<sup>1</sup> He seems to have been the author of a saying, since attributed, on other occasions, to more honest men, that "he would drive a coach-and-six through the Act of Parliament."



The 9th of December was believed to have been fixed for the intended massacre; and, a day or two before that date, the Earl of Antrim, at the head of 1,200 men, crossed Lough Foyle at the ferry which gave access to the town from the Coleraine road, and demanded admittance and quarters in the name of King James. The civic authorities had no inclination to refuse him admittance. Chief Baron Rice had quelled the spirit of the Corporation. The Bishop held, and at all times consistently preached, the most extreme doctrines of non-resistance. The magistrates were on the point of submitting to the Earl's demand, a submission which might have affected the whole subsequent history of the country, and which would certainly have deprived it of its most brilliant episode, when a few young Protestant apprentices were suddenly seized with a generous fear for their liberty and their religion, which overbore all other fear. Hearing what was passing, they rushed to the gates, closed them in the face of the soldiers; let fall the portcullis; manned the guns on the lines; and sent out messengers in every direction to implore instant aid from the inhabitants of the surrounding district.

No call was ever more promptly answered. Men of all classes, gentry, farmers, and peasants, poured in to the threatened city with such rapidity and in such numbers that Lord Antrim did not dare to attempt to force an entrance; and Tyrconnel himself, whom the news of what was taking place in England had rendered doubtful of the issue of the contest there, for a moment thought it best to temporize, and to seek rather to tranquillize than to subdue. He sent Lord Mountjoy, the Master of the Ordnance, who, being a Protestant himself, was more likely



to be listened to by Protestants, to try and persuade the men of Ulster to lay aside their fears. With the people of Enniskillen Mountjoy wholly failed, and the citizens of Londonderry only listened to him so far as to allow him to leave them a few of his Protestant soldiers as a garrison. But even before that was done Tyrconnel changed his mind. The Roman Catholics, whom he had found it easy to excite against the Protestants, it was not so easy to call off their prey. They became furious and menacing when they learnt that he had shown a willingness to parley with those whom they hated and believed at their mercy. And he, resuming his former policy, but seeing that he needed aid to carry it out, set himself to work, with greater violence than ever, to rouse the native Irish and Roman Catholic population ; and sent Mountjoy and Chief Baron Rice to France to implore James at once to cross over and put himself at their head. It seems certain that Rice was further instructed, if James should hesitate to comply with the invitation, to address himself to Louis, and to offer him Tyrconnel's assistance to make Ireland a province of France.

James, however, as we have seen, at once resolved to undertake the enterprise. But in the few weeks which elapsed between the departure of the embassy and his arrival, the whole country presented a strange scene of horror, such as no part of these kingdoms had witnessed since the days of the Danes. Tyrconnel, at the same time that he roused the native Irish, disarmed the Protestants. Of the native Irish, nearly 50,000 obeyed his summons to enlist.<sup>1</sup> An equal number, preferring the license of war to the discipline of an army, roamed the country in large

<sup>1</sup> "Now or never, now and for ever," was the motto which he emblazoned on the flag which waved over Dublin Castle.

bodies, plundering, burning, and destroying the cattle which were the chief riches of the people, and murdering the owners whenever they fell into their hands. Their human victims, however, were comparatively few; the greater part saved themselves by timely flight, seeking refuge in the North, the only district where the Viceroy's authority was not implicitly obeyed. And thus South and West gradually contributed to swell the force which was gathering within the walls of Londonderry, and the fugitives prepared to requite the protection which the brave city afforded by pouring out their blood in its defence.

In ordinary times the population of the city did not exceed 6,000 or 7,000 souls; but now it was computed that 30,000 were collected within its walls; such an accession of numbers making the resistance at first more formidable, but in the end aggravating the horrors of the siege, from the difficulty of providing supplies for so unaccustomed a multitude. For, even before James landed at Kinsale, Tyrconnel had sent a force to besiege Londonderry, under the command of General Richard Hamilton. And the importance of its reduction was so obvious that James resolved to hasten thither himself as soon as possible, thinking, perhaps, that those who made no scruple at resisting his generals, would hesitate to oppose himself, when he was known to be with the army.

So terrible, however, had been the devastation to which the whole country had been subjected during the winter, that it was difficult for him to procure horses to travel with, and it was nearly a fortnight before he reached Dublin. There he was detained for some weeks by the deliberations forced upon him by the discordant views of different parties among his followers. The native Irish, with Tyrconnel at their

head, shaped all their counsels by their desire to effect a permanent separation between their own country and England. D'Avaux and De Rosen, looking not at James's interests, but at those of their own Sovereign, aimed at the same end, though for a different object. But those of English and Scotch blood who had followed James to St. Germain's, and who still accompanied him, desired the establishment of his authority in Ireland as a means towards the recovery of England.

Their views were those which he himself shared, and to carry them out, having made all necessary arrangements in Dublin, and having ordered the issue of writs for a Parliament which was to meet on the 7th of May, at the end of the second week in April he marched northward, and on the morning of the 18th came in sight of Londonderry. De Rosen, who now superseded Hamilton, promised him an easy conquest: to a military eye, the fortifications of the city seemed untenable. And the citizens had even a worse foe to contend with than the weakness of their defences; for Colonel Lundy, whom Lord Mountjoy had left as Governor of the garrison, agreed with De Rosen in thinking all resistance hopeless, and with a treachery which probably owed its origin chiefly to timidity, put himself in communication with the enemy, and promised to surrender instantly. He even sent back two regiments which had arrived from England a few days before; and, as soon as the first companies of De Rosen's army came in sight, he issued peremptory orders that no one should fire upon them.

His very pusillanimity, by the indignation which it inspired, gave new strength to the citizens, and was fatal to none but himself. The citizens rose as one man to disown his authority. Two officers of lower rank, Major Baker

and Captain Murray, guided their earnest vigour, and were admirably assisted by a coadjutor whose profession might have seemed inconsistent with such a task, but in whom zeal for his religion overruled all other considerations, George Walker, rector of a rural parish in the neighbourhood, who, like so many others, had sought shelter within the walls from the fury of the Popish soldiery and ravagers. They had some difficulty in saving Lundy from the rage of those whom he had designed to betray : however, he escaped by night in disguise ; and the citizens, dividing the authority of Governor between a soldier and a civilian, entrusted Baker with the military command, and Walker with the superintendence of all civil affairs, in which they included the commissariat, a charge of as great difficulty as importance when the mouths to be fed were out of all proportion to the supplies to be obtained. Walker, too, brought religious enthusiasm to add its fire and stubbornness to the zeal for civil liberty. At his bidding the clergy of every denomination, Presbyterians as well as Churchmen, invited soldiers and citizens to daily service in all the churches. And thus, even before the hostile army was in a position to attack, a spirit of unconquerable resistance was kindled in every breast.

The summons to surrender to which Lundy had engaged to yield, now that he was gone, was rejected with disdain ; a weak attempt to bribe Captain Murray met with no better reception ; and when he had thus learned that the reduction of the rebellious city would not be the brief and easy business which he had at first expected, James returned to Dublin, taking De Rosen with him, and entrusting the conduct of the siege to M. Maumont, a French Lieutenant-General, with another French officer, Brigadier Pusignan,

and Hamilton, as second and third in command. The Frenchmen were both soon killed, and Hamilton was left in sole command. How fruitless were his exertions, with what indomitable and successful courage the heroic garrison and equally intrepid citizens baffled the utmost efforts of his skill, and of that of De Rosen, who at the end of two months was sent back to resume the command, has been related at length, in words that burn, by the brilliant historian of these events.

The besiegers soon turned the siege into a blockade, throwing a strong boom across the river below the city, and thus barring the only channel by which supplies or reinforcements could be looked for. The very coarsest food soon became scarce, the scarcity soon became famine. One flotilla, abundantly loaded with men and provisions, which had been sent from England for the supply of the city, did, indeed, make its appearance in Lough Foyle in the middle of June, but the hopes which the sight of its sails raised were cruelly disappointed. For some inexplicable reason William had entrusted the command of it to the infamous Colonel Kirke, and he, who was not likely to be moved by the consideration or even the sight of human suffering, showed how little such indifference is a sign of courage. He pronounced the boom, guarded as it was by land batteries at each end, too strong to be attacked, and, without making a single attempt to succour the famishing multitude whom he had been sent to deliver, retired in infamous inactivity to the entrance of the Lough. His retreat might well have struck the citizens with despair. Already famine was thinning their ranks; Baker himself had succumbed to it. The survivors were stinted to diminishing rations of loathsome food. De Rosen, with a

barbarity of which even war presents but few examples, had sought to aggravate their misery by driving under the walls the few peasants and farmers who had remained to till the adjacent districts, and hemming them in to die of starvation before the eyes of their friends and kinsmen in the city. Many perished, till the indignation even of his own officers compelled the inhuman foreigner to withdraw his order, and to release those who survived.

But the intelligence of Kirke's cowardly and treacherous supineness had awakened one general feeling of indignation in England. It reached Schomberg, whom William had just named Commander-in-Chief in Ireland, and who, while preparing to cross over, exercised his authority by sending a peremptory order to Kirke to relieve the town at all risks. It reached him when, even of such wretched rations as they had been long confined to, the garrison had scarcely enough to last two days more. He knew that Schomberg was not a commander to be trifled with. He dared not disobey; and then it was seen how easily the work might have been accomplished six weeks before. Yet, even then, he did not himself venture on any bold deed to save the city; he only allowed others to do so.

The masters of two merchantmen, laden with provisions, Micaiah Browning, of the "Mountjoy," and Andrew Douglas, of the "Phoenix," who had long been grumbling at the inaction in which he had kept them, offered to risk their ships in the endeavour to effect an entrance; Captain Leake, of the "Dartmouth" frigate, volunteered to escort them and to protect them from the batteries on shore, and Kirke permitted the attempt to be made, but took no part in it. On the afternoon of the 28th of July, as the tide began to rise, the three vessels moved steadily up the stream: the

wind, too, was fair. The enemy, who saw their advance long before they came in sight of the citizens, mustered fiercely to oppose them, for the only navigable channel was on the left side of the stream, close under their camp ; but the guns of the “ Dartmouth ” were far more powerful than theirs, and Leake was one of the most skilful and boldest men in the service. Under cover of his fire, the “ Mountjoy ” dashed against the boom. She broke it, but recoiled from the shock, and for a brief time seemed stranded in the mud. The “ Phœnix,” however, which was close behind, passed swiftly through the opening which she had made ; the rising tide soon floated the “ Mountjoy,” and she, too, sailed through. By ten at night the vessels had reached the quay ; they were quickly unloaded, for the whole body of citizens hastened down to aid in the work ; before midnight plenty had taken the place of starvation. The town was saved ; and, though for a day or two longer the besiegers kept up an ineffectual fire, it was hardly regarded. On the last night of the month they set fire to the camp, and at daybreak on the 1st of August the sentries on the walls saw them in full retreat.

The day before James’s arms had met with another disaster in Fermanagh. The only other place of importance in the North was Enniskillen, in which the Protestants from the West had taken refuge ; and, as the garrison there, though equally resolute, was far weaker than that of Londonderry, it seemed that it must be easy to reduce it by a single vigorous effort. Accordingly Lord Mountcashel was sent with 5,000 men to carry the place by assault. As a preliminary operation he laid siege to the small fort of Crum, on the borders of the county. But Colonel Wolseley, who commanded at Enniskillen, was an officer of rare



capacity and enterprise. He was not content with defending his own town; but determined to save Crum also. And, though he could not muster much above half Mountcashel's numbers, he marched out to bring him to battle. He knew well how much better half-disciplined troops, such as his, fight in attack than in defence.

Mountcashel, on the contrary, though far the stronger, fought as if he were the weaker. He retreated before the advancing Enniskilleners, never halting till, after passing through the petty town of Newton Butler, from which the action that ensued has taken its name, he reached a hill with a morass in its front, which cavalry could only cross by one narrow causeway. On the lower slopes of the hill he drew up his men, and planted his guns so as to sweep the causeway. But neither can bogs stop nor batteries daunt resolute men, especially when, as happened in this instance, religious enthusiasm stimulated their natural courage. Wolseley had given "No Popery" as the word of the day; and his men fought as if they considered themselves the champions of Protestantism, and knew the cause of their religion to depend on their swords. They struggled through the bog and stormed the battery. As soon as it was silenced, the cavalry charged fiercely up the causeway. The whole of Mountcashel's men seemed as if they were panic-stricken. Dragoons,<sup>1</sup> cavalry, and infantry, vied with one another in headlong and confused flight. Four hundred were taken prisoners, among whom was Mountcashel himself; nearly 2,000 were slain, their guns, their ammunition, and their colours all becoming the prize of the conquerors, who would have covered themselves with glory if they had not in some

<sup>1</sup> The dragoon was, as yet, rather a mounted infantry soldier than a cavalry trooper.



degree tarnished it by the ferocity with which they slaughtered the unresisting fugitives.

But, serious to James as were these disasters, both in themselves and as indications of the probable result of his endeavours to re-establish his authority over the whole island, they were yet far less injurious to his prospects of ultimate success, if the feelings of England and Scotland were also to be taken into consideration, than the conduct of his own partisans, or of those who called themselves such, when they met with no resistance, or could overpower all opposition.

The Parliament had met in Dublin in the second week of May. It was composed almost wholly of Roman Catholics. Not one lay Protestant Peer attended, though four Bishops took their seats, probably from a religious scruple as to the propriety of disobeying a Royal summons. In the House of Commons the recent remodelling of the municipal charters, and the general terror that had prevailed during the elections, had so commonly prevented Protestants from offering themselves as candidates, that out of 250 members only six belonged to the Established Church. It was therefore, to all intents and purposes, a purely Roman Catholic Parliament, and it lost no time in showing the Protestants how little mercy, or even how little justice, they could expect at its hands.

James opened the session himself in state, with a short speech which almost wore the appearance of a design to make the breach between himself and his English subjects irreconcilable. For he invited a reconsideration of the Acts of Settlement, and there could be no doubt that reconsideration was understood to mean repeal. He made ostentatious profession of his obligations to Louis; and even the third topic on which he dwelt, his resolution to abolish

religious disabilities, however commendable it might have been if fairly carried out, was notoriously one which a large section of English statesmen regarded with any feeling rather than favour.

The Houses sat only ten weeks, but in that short time they passed acts overturning all the existing laws relating to religion ; abrogating the most important laws respecting property ; and threatening the lives of all the most respectable men in the kingdom. They did indeed pass one humane and wise law granting liberty of conscience in matters of religion to all Christians. But they soon showed that they meant it to be a dead letter to all but Roman Catholics. By one of their subsequent enactments they transferred the tithes from the Protestant to the Roman Catholic clergy. By another, which was received with a loud cheer when it was brought in, and was carried by acclamation, they repealed the Act of Settlement ; the effect of this measure being to strip the Protestants of their estates, the possession of which previous laws had secured to them, and to hand the property over to Roman Catholics. And this measure was so clearly pernicious as well as iniquitous, that James himself, though he had recommended it in his opening speech, was brought by the arguments of its opponents to deprecate it ; though he could not prevent the Houses from voting it, and did not dare to refuse his assent to it. Indeed, his most earnest supporters openly made their support of his authority conditional on his consent.

Another enactment confiscated all the estates of absentees ; and, as it vested them in the King himself, was manifestly intended to have the same effect of enriching Roman Catholics at their expense, since James could

not venture, nor was he likely to be inclined, to confer them on any new owners but those of his own religion. Another, which, indeed, preceded those which have been mentioned as a necessary preliminary to them, was so open a defiance of England, that it was plain that, if James should recover his authority there, it could not be maintained without a civil war. It annulled the authority of the English Parliament in Ireland both as a legislative body and as a Court of Appeal. Violent and lawless as these measures were, they were far outdone by one which followed; which was not exceeded in atrocity by any act of the French revolutionists in the next century; and to which no previous measure of persecution in any country afforded a parallel.

The two Houses passed an Act of Attainder against nearly 3,000 persons as rebels, though it did not charge against them a single overt act; but, in the case of the majority, inferred their disaffection from their absence from the kingdom; and, in the case of many, had not even that argument to adduce against them.<sup>1</sup> No class, no sex, no age was exempted. Prelates, lay Peers, women, and minors, were equally included, in some instances even common tradesmen, who had the misfortune of having members of Parliament in their debt, to whom the proscription of their creditor seemed the easiest way of discharging his account. Those who were named might, indeed, save themselves by surrendering before a certain fixed day; but this provision was but a cruel mockery, since the list of attainted persons was not

<sup>1</sup> In 1696, Montague justified the attainder of Sir John Fenwick by the necessity of taking care that James should never be in a position to pass such a wholesale Act of Attainder as he had proclaimed in Ireland.—MACAULAY, vol. IV., p. 754.

published, but was kept secret in the Chancellor's desk till after the day had past ; while one clause in the Bill even limited the King's prerogative of mercy, and enacted that if he should grant a pardon to any one mentioned in the act after the end of November, it should be void and of no effect. And this horrible and unprecedented enactment James also ratified by his Royal Assent, though his friends afterwards pleaded in his excuse that it had been given with reluctance.

It was hardly strange that while all these bills for the destruction of Protestantism were being passed almost without discussion, the mob anticipated their effect, and in every part of the country began to commit the most cruel outrages on every Protestant within their reach. The municipal authorities of Dublin took upon themselves, without waiting for any new Statute, to treat Trinity College worse than even Magdalen University had been treated at Oxford. They seized the books in the library, the communion plate in the Chapel, expelled the scholars and fellows, and turned some of the rooms into barracks, and the rest into cells for prisoners ; the Governor even making a favour of allowing those who were thus ejected to depart in freedom.

And while all these iniquities were being perpetrated by his adherents in his name, James himself, by an act of his own, contrived to inflict a still more general injustice on the whole people. His Exchequer was empty. Revenue depends on trade and prosperity ; and the universal panic which now existed had put an end to both. He exercised his prerogative of coining money to issue a base coinage. Gold and silver were unattainable, so brass was substituted, which was procured by the pillage of the ironmongers' shops,

and even of the citizens' kitchens ; and of this base and worn-out metal coins were issued with the name of shillings and guineas, but of less than the value of farthings. And all dealers were compelled to take them ; while, to keep up their value, a royal proclamation denounced the penalty of death against any one who presumed to give more than thirty-eight of these brass shillings for a golden guinea ; and the governor forbade the shopkeepers to raise their prices, or to refuse to sell their goods, and constables and soldiers were entrusted with the duty of seeing that his order was obeyed. Every dealer in every kind of article was thus compelled to sell his wares for less than a hundredth part of their value. The distress was universal ; the indignation was as wide and as deep as the distress. And the great historian of these times traces, in all probability with perfect truth, the strange outcry which in the reign of George I. was raised against Wood's halfpence, and of which the memory has been preserved to our day by the Drapier's letters, to the recollection of the wrong done and the suffering caused by James's brass money.

The Parliament was prorogued in the latter part of July, just before De Rosen's retreat from Londonderry, and Mountcashel's rout at Newton Butler showed that the war must be a protracted one ; and just before William, who in the earliest part of the year had been too fully occupied in England to give Irish affairs the attention they required, began to show his appreciation of the important character of the struggle in that part of the kingdom, and his resolution to make more vigorous exertions to bring it to an early termination. One of the motives which had led De Rosen to abandon the siege of Londonderry was the conviction that his army would do James better service by opposing

Schomberg,<sup>1</sup> who, as he had just learnt, was on the point of crossing over to Ireland ; and who, in fact, did land at the mouth of the Belfast Lough in the middle of August. It was a motley army which he brought with him ; for the diplomatic abilities of William had been rewarded some months before by a general coalition against Louis, of Germany, Spain, the States of Holland, and Prussia, not yet a kingdom, but already giving indications of the ambition and power which, even before the end of William's reign, enabled her ruler to extort the acknowledgment of his kingly rank from the other monarchs of Europe.

As William himself was the founder and soul of the coalition, his new kingdom could not be backward in the cause. Both Houses of the English Parliament had warmly entered into his views ; war had been declared against France in the second week in May ; and the flower of the English army had been placed under Marlborough's command and sent to Flanders. What English soldiers, therefore, could be given to the old Marshal for service in Ireland were but raw recruits. The flower of his army was composed of some regiments of French refugees who had been driven from the service of their native country by the same persecution which had made an exile of Schomberg himself ; and of a division of Dutch troops under Count Solmes, an officer of their own nation, whom William regarded with a high degree of that favour which he reserved exclusively for his own countrymen, but which he was forced to modify, or at least to conceal, after the indignation of all England had been roused by the jealous treachery with which Solmes betrayed the British regiments under Mackay, sacrificed that gallant

<sup>1</sup> Mémoires de Maréchal de Berwick, écrits par lui-même.—Vol. I., p. 60.

officer, and endangered the life of William himself on the bloody field of Steinkirk.

The whole force which Schomberg brought with him did not exceed 10,000 men ; but it was reckoned that Ulster, and the English regiments already in Ulster, would furnish an equal number. And William had good reasons to trust to the old Marshal's experience and capacity to supply all deficiencies, and to make him fully a match for the greater numbers which were at the disposal of De Rosen and James. And the veteran did him service such as few other men then alive could have done ; which William himself could appreciate ; but which was not that which the impatience of the coffee-house politicians in England were looking for. They calculated on an early battle and a decisive victory. Schomberg soon ascertained that his army was in no condition to fight. The larger half had to learn the very rudiments of discipline. And, under the irregular, careless and corrupt system which had prevailed in every department of the Administration during the last two reigns, the commissariat had fallen into such disorder that the equipments of every kind were in a worse condition than the men themselves. The clothing was scanty and bad in quality ; the provisions were mouldy ; the very weapons were rotten. All that he could attempt was to keep the enemy in check and prevent them from doing harm, and to discipline and prepare his own army for battle on a future day. And this he did.

He advanced to the southern frontier of Ulster, and took up an entrenched position near Dundalk, from which De Rosen did not dare to try to dislodge him. For De Rosen, who was encamped to the south of the same town, was equally dissatisfied with the state of his troops ; and, not



suspecting that Schomberg's were in equally bad condition, had resolved to retreat further if the old Marshal advanced further. But the autumn only rendered Schomberg's army more ineffective than ever ; for Dundalk lies low ; the season was unusually wet even for Ireland ; the ground on which he was encamped became a marsh, and bred fever and pestilence among the men, till disease gradually reduced his effective army to little more than half its original numbers. But still he held his ground, till, in November, De Rosen withdrew into winter quarters ; and then he also did the same, falling back to the neighbourhood of Belfast, the port by which alone he communicated with England, and fixed his own head-quarters at Lisburn.

Throughout the winter, great and successful exertions were made to place his army on a better footing. Schomberg continued busily to train his own men, and a steady stream of reinforcements came over from England, till by the spring of the next year 30,000 men were ranged under his banner. And, what was of equal importance, supplies of all sorts, food, tents, arms, and means of transport were sent over in abundance. By the end of May the best appointed army that had ever been seen in Ireland was ready to take the field, and it was understood that William himself was coming to place himself at its head. The intelligence was correct. On the 14th of June he landed at Carrickfergus, took the command of the army, and at once prepared for active operations.

It was a critical moment for him to leave England, for he was aware that a numerous body of malcontents were holding treasonable communications with France ; and that Louis was projecting an invasion of the island, and had already a fleet in the Channel far superior to any which

the utmost efforts of our Admiralty could provide to encounter it. But he felt that, even in the event of a naval disaster, he could trust to the innate spirit of Englishmen to make an invasion impossible, or, if a landing were effected, to make England the grave or the prison of every foreign soldier who should set foot in it. And he rightly judged that Irish affairs would admit of no delay in dealing with them, while a decisive success gained in that country would be the best security of all against an attempt at an invasion of England, since it would deprive it of an object. As he said himself, he had not come to Ireland to let the grass grow under his feet. He was therefore desirous to bring matters to an immediate issue by a battle ; and as soon as possible after his landing he began his march towards the south.

James, on his part, was equally anxious to decide the quarrel by an appeal to arms ; and, as soon as the news of his son-in-law's presence in Ireland reached him at Dublin, he quitted the capital, and marched northward along the coast to meet him. He, too, was full of confidence. He had not, like Schomberg, spent the winter in disciplining the troops whose military qualities De Rosen had held so lightly in the preceding autumn ; but he had made an exchange which he rated at a very high value. He had sent Louis some thousands of his Irishmen to serve in the French armies, and he had received in their stead several of those gallant French regiments which had carried terror into every country of the continent, and were generally accounted the best infantry in Europe. On the other hand, had he been able to appreciate the difference between the two commanders, he had sustained a loss which was likely more than to counterbalance the superiority of the

French to the Irish battalion. The Count Lauzun had not unnaturally established for himself a solid footing in the favour of James and his Queen by the gallantry and address with which he had accomplished her escape to France. He was now desirous to add to the credit he had thus gained the glory of a successful general. He solicited the command of the regiments to be sent to Ireland, and easily persuaded both James and Mary of Modena to add their solicitations to his. Louis, against his better judgment, or rather against the judgment of his great war minister, Louvois, yielded to their importunities, though the employment of Lauzun rendered it necessary to recall De Rosen.

It was a most ill-advised change for James, for De Rosen, in spite of his pitiless ferocity, was a skilful general, and Lauzun had only the dashing gallantry of a knight-errant, no genius for war, and none even of that experience which often, in commanders not too severely tried, not inadequately supplies the place of genius. Lauzun soon found out that it was unfortunate for himself also, for the beggarly condition of the country, the savage ignorance of the lower classes, the corruption of the higher ranks, and the quarrelsome and unmanageable character of all, after a very short residence among them, filled him with disgust, not unmingled with despair. However, like a brave man as he was, he resolved to do his best with the materials he had, of which, to say the truth, he soon began to think James himself among the worst.

On the 17th or 18th of June, he, with the King and the French regiments which he had brought over, marched northwards to De Rosen's camp of the preceding year, at Ardee, a small town in Louth, a few miles to the south of

Dundalk; his entire force, when united, being something under 30,000 men.<sup>1</sup> William collected his forces at Loughbrickland, in the south of the county Down, and they at a review were found to be 36,000. He had therefore a decided superiority in number, and James determined to retreat, though he was resolved not to abandon Dublin without a battle. He fell back, and William pursued, at the distance of a day's march behind him, till at last, when he reached the northern bank of the Boyne, opposite a small suburb of Drogheda called Oldbridge, he saw the Royal Standard side by side with the Lilies of France on the walls of the town, and the southern bank of the river lined with the army which he was chasing.

That was the ground which Lauzun had chosen for his field of battle; and it was not ill-chosen, though when, early in the morning of the 30th of June<sup>2</sup> William came in sight of it, and saw the men and guns in position, his language was that of undoubting exultation, "I am glad to see you gentlemen," said he; "if you escape me now, the fault will be mine." Yet he could not but acknow-

<sup>1</sup> It is not possible to fix the number of James's army precisely. Macaulay, vol. III., p. 623, without giving his authority, calls it "probably 30,000 men." Burnet states it at 26,000 (vol. II., p. 477). The Duke of Berwick, who was a man of scrupulous veracity, says William had 45,000, and James only 23,000 (vol. I., p. 69). His estimate of William's force must have been guess-work; but he must have had the best opportunity of knowing the strength of the army in which he himself served. King James himself in his *Memoirs* (quoted in Berwick, vol. I., p. 432), says he had no more than 20,000, and the Prince of Orange from 40,000 to 50,000. No reliance, however, can be placed on his calculations. Neither Dalrymple nor Macpherson give any numbers. Smollett speaks of the two armies as nearly equal. It seems probable that something between Berwick's and Burnet's statements was nearest the truth.

<sup>2</sup> The Duke of Berwick says William came in sight on the evening of the 29th, but he is clearly wrong; he fixes the battle on the 30th.

ledge to himself that they could only be attacked at a disadvantage which it would require all his superiority of numbers to counterbalance. The river was not very wide, but it was deep; there was no bridge nearer than Slane, nearly five miles higher up; and there were only two fords, one at Oldbridge, the other a little lower down the stream, nearer Drogheda itself. James's whole army was stationed as if to guard the ford at Oldbridge. He had had time to strengthen his position with entrenchments and batteries, and the banks were naturally steep. So great, indeed, was the difficulty of forcing a passage, that Schomberg gave his voice against making the attempt. But William, taking a statesman's view of his situation as well as a soldier's, felt that nothing could be so mischievous as the appearance of hesitation, and issued orders that his whole army should be prepared to cross the river the next morning at daybreak.

Yet there had nearly been no battle at all. In his eagerness to examine the enemy's position thoroughly, William had kept close to the bank of the river, and, as their front lines were also close to the brink, he was so near to them as to be distinctly recognized, when, in the course of the morning, he sat down on the grass with his Staff, to take some refreshment. The French artillerymen quickly brought some guns to bear on the party, the first shot from which killed the horse of Prince George of Hesse, and the second struck William himself on the shoulder. A variation of a few inches would have changed the whole subsequent history of England, if not of Europe; and for a moment, as the King sank down under the shock, both armies believed that he was killed. It was, however, soon ascertained that he had received nothing worse than a slight flesh wound. It was dressed, and he speedily reassured his anxious troops

by showing himself again on horseback, and riding in review through their lines.

The 1st of July is a day which will never be forgotten in Ireland. The morning was clear. Soon after four o'clock, William was again on horseback, and began to put his troops in motion. One brigade he sent up to cross Slane Bridge and turn the enemy's left flank, a movement which had a most decisive influence on the ultimate fortune of the day; for Lauzun, seeing that a single regiment of dragoons, which James had sent to hold the brigade in check, was repulsed and routed, led his French troops and a cavalry regiment, commanded by the celebrated Sarsfield, to encounter it; and thus the best soldiers in James's army were removed from Oldbridge, where the real struggle was to take place, and the defence of that all-important ford was left to the Irish regiments, which, under the best generals, were but little to be depended on, and which were now under no better guidance than that of James himself, with Lord Tyrconnel and Hamilton, who had been beaten at Newton Butler.

Hamilton did, indeed, behave with most conspicuous courage. At first it seemed as if Schomberg's division, which comprised the whole main body of William's army, would be suffered to cross the river without opposition, for, the moment that it reached the centre of the stream, all the Irish infantry regiments fled, without venturing to cross swords with the enemy, or even to fire a single shot, but throwing away their colours, and even their arms, that no such encumbrances might delay their flight.<sup>1</sup> But the cavalry

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Berwick (vol. I., p. 75), says, "Nous ne perdions qu'environ mille hommes, et il n'y eut que les troupes de M. Hamilton et les miennes qui combattirent."

was composed of better materials, and Hamilton, putting himself at their head, plunged into the river, and for some time maintained a desperate fight with the regiments of French refugees, in whom Schomberg, not unnaturally, placed great reliance. Had Lauzun been at hand to support Hamilton as he deserved, his valour might have had an important influence on the result of the battle. The commander of the Frenchmen, a noble countryman of their own, M. la Caillemotte, was struck down, and Schomberg thought the moment so critical as to require his personal exertions. Without waiting to put on his cuirass, he plunged into the river, to supply la Caillemotte's place. "Come on," he cried to his men, who had wavered on seeing their leader's fall; "come on, gentlemen, there are your persecutors!" and he plunged into the fight.

William had lately made him a Knight of the Garter, and he wore his blue ribbon on this day. Whether, as some accounts state,<sup>1</sup> Hamilton's men mistook him for William himself, and singled him out as the special mark for their utmost exertions, or whether, as others report, in the confusion some of his own soldiers shot him from behind, is uncertain, but he fell dead. Luckily, William himself came up at the moment on the southern side of the river. He had had a second narrow escape, for the tide was flowing when he crossed, and was running with such strength as to carry his horse off his legs. But at last he landed safely, and galloped at once to the scene of action. His dangers were not yet over. Hamilton's troopers, though now attacked on both sides, still fought stoutly; friend and foe

<sup>1</sup> The Duke of Berwick, *ib.*—"Schomberg fut tué par un exempt et quelques gardes-du-corps, lesquels le prirent, à cause de son cordon bleu, pour le Prince d'Orange."



were mingled together, and in the height of the struggle an Enniskillen dragoon put a pistol to William's head. The King calmly put it aside with his hand. "What," said he, "do you not know your friends?" He was recognized, and with a loud cheer the dragoons closed round him to protect him for the future, and pressed on the enemy with a resolution that became men who had such a leader. At last, after performing prodigies of valour, Hamilton himself was severely wounded, and taken prisoner, and with his capture the battle was over. James himself had taken no part in the battle, contenting himself with watching it from a hill in the rear during its earlier conflicts; but, when the French regiments began to make their way through the stream, and William came up on his side of the river, he was seized with alarm lest his retreat should be cut off, and fled with precipitation to Dublin.

The loss on both sides was very slight. The defeated army did not lose above 1,000 men, for indeed the greater part of it ran away without even coming to blows. Those who fell on William's side did not exceed half that number; but the deaths of M. la Caillemotte and of Schomberg might fairly have been reckoned to make the loss of the two armies equal. Another man who had lately made himself a great reputation had also fallen, but without being so much regretted by the conqueror. Walker, whose exhortations and example had roused the citizens of Derry to their noble resistance, had lately been rewarded with the Bishopric. Certainly his place was no longer with an army; but he had acquired a taste for fighting, and had marched, uninvited and unwished for, to the Boyne. He had plunged into the river with Schomberg, and had fallen by a chance shot. But, when his death was reported, it

produced no comment from William, who had no fancy for seeing civilians, and much less parsons, interfering in soldiers' work, but a half-indignant inquiry, "What took him to the ford?" which, had he survived, would have been felt as more than half a reproof.

## CHAPTER XI.

James returns to France—William arrives in Dublin—He is repulsed from Limerick by Sarsfield—He returns to England—The Earl of Marlborough reduces Cork and Kinsale—The French regiments are withdrawn—The Rapparees—General St. Ruth takes the command—William goes with Marlborough to Flanders—General Ginkell commands in Ireland—Ginkell takes Athlone—The Battle of Aghrim—Galway surrenders—Sarsfield throws himself into Limerick—The two treaties of Limerick—Many of Sarsfield's soldiers emigrate with him to France.

JAMES fled with such speed, that he reached Dublin that very evening. The next morning he summoned the Lord Mayor, and some of the principal citizens who adhered to him, and announced to them his intention to return to France without delay. The loss of the battle he attributed to the cowardice of the Irish troops, and declared that he would never command an Irish army again; but they, when they heard his denunciation of them, threw the blame with quite as much justice on himself. "Complaints of cowardice," they said, "came ill from him who had been the first to fly," and "if the English would only change Kings with them, they would fight the battle over again."

It is certain, however, that James himself had not originally been a coward. In the battle of the Downs, he had led a brigade of Irish royalists against the English division with a gallantry which had earned the praise of

the intrepid Condé. He had been Commander-in-Chief in the great victory which, in the summer of 1665, his brother's fleet had gained over the Dutch ; but ever since William had landed in Torbay, he had seemed unmanned ; his every act was weak, wavering, and timorous ; and he was never resolute except when some shameful piece of pusillanimous folly was to be committed ; as when he twice fled from England in the preceding year, and fled from Ireland now.

On dismissing the Lord Mayor he once more mounted his horse and continued his flight. Riding all day and all night, with only two brief halts to take refreshment, he reached Waterford the next morning ; there he found a small vessel in which he coasted to Kinsale ; a French frigate conveyed him to Brest, and from Brest he proceeded to St. Germain's, which he scarcely ever quitted again during his life. He seemed not the least cast down by his reverses, but told the whole story of his late campaign, his defeat, and his escape from the field of battle, to every one who would listen to him, with as great indifference as if his own fortunes had not been involved in it. But the French nobles, whose feelings of loyal respect were more than once severely tried in this reign by the care with which their own Sovereign kept himself out of danger, felt nowise bound to conceal their sentiments on the pusillanimity of a foreign Prince ; and remarked to one another that they only required to hear the King of England tell his own story to understand why he was at St. Germain's and his son-in-law at St. James's.

Not that the Irish war was over with his flight. Lauzun had collected the relics of his army, and had followed him to Dublin, reaching that city at daybreak on the 2nd ; but,

not venturing to remain there, he marched westward with Tyrconnel, traversing the whole island till he reached Limerick. William also had hastened to Dublin, where, on the Sunday after the battle, he went in state, with the royal crown on his head, to St. Patrick's Cathedral to return thanks to God for his victory; and he had intended, after making himself master of Waterford, that he might secure a safe harbour for the reception of reinforcements and supplies, to return to England. But intelligence which he presently received from the Queen, determined him to remain a little longer; and early in August he marched against Limerick, hoping to finish the war by the reduction of that city, which now contained all that was left of James's army. From the reports of its condition which had reached him, he believed that it could not resist his attack for a single day; and Lauzun agreed with him; pronouncing with a contempt that exceeded his, that "the ramparts might be battered down with roasted apples."

But Sarsfield, whose value the praises of the French officers had with difficulty led James to appreciate, thought otherwise. He had naturally a better opinion of his own countrymen than was entertained by the gay and rash Frenchman; was confident that they would fight resolutely enough if resolutely led; and felt proudly conscious that he could both raise and restrain their courage. There was no doubt that to hold Limerick was an object of the greatest importance, if, after the Boyne, there was any possibility of eventual success; so Lauzun gladly consented to his making the attempt. He himself, with Tyrconnel, retired with his French infantry to Galway, and left Sarsfield with the Irish divisions, whose numbers had been very little diminished, and which still amounted to 20,000

men, to defend the city, with the aid of a French general named Boisseleau, who, as Sarsfield was but a brigadier, was nominally Commander-in-Chief; and who was not unfit for the post, since he shared Sarsfield's opinion of Irish courage when bravely commanded. The French cavalry, too, 3,500 strong, was left behind to watch for any opportunity of aiding the garrison, or of impeding the King's operations, under the command of the young Duke of Berwick, who already began to give indications of that military talent, which eventually won him a high reputation among the great captains of his adopted country.

On the 8th, William reconnoitred the defences in person, and his examination so entirely confirmed the description which he had received of their inability to stand a cannonade, that he at once summoned the Governor to surrender; but Boisseleau replied that "he wished to gain the Prince of Orange's good opinions, and that he could not expect it if he did not defend his post well." Not that he, or even Sarsfield himself, believed that the walls could resist the fire of a heavy battering train. But Sarsfield had already conceived the possibility of preventing such an attack from being brought against them.

William had outmarched his guns, which, with a long train of ammunition and provision-waggon, was following him slowly; but, as the body of his army was of course with the King, Sarsfield conjectured that the train could be but slenderly guarded, and resolved to intercept it. Stealing out of the city by night with a strong body of cavalry, he crossed the Shannon at Killaloe, and moving onwards through the wild mountain district which lies beyond that great river, he learnt the next day that the train was at hand. He kept his men back till night once

more brought darkness to aid his plans, and then, when the artillerymen and escort, secure that their army was between them and any possible enemy, were all asleep, he fell upon them. The surprise was complete; every man but one was killed, and he was taken prisoner. Guns, ammunition, and provisions all were captured; Sarsfield destroyed the whole, and returned triumphantly to Limerick, where his brilliant success, the very first which his side had achieved since the beginning of the war, raised the spirits of the whole garrison.

They now fought gallantly, and they fought every day; for William was not of a temper to abandon his purpose for a single disaster. He constructed a battery of his field-pieces, and even they were powerful enough to breach such walls as those before him. The garrison, on their part, daily replied by a vigorous fire, which more than once endangered William himself, whose disregard of his personal safety frequently excited the apprehensions, and even provoked the expostulations, of his friends. But still the besiegers made way, though slowly; and by the end of the month sufficient impression had been made to warrant William in resolving on an assault. In truth, he could wait no longer, for he had nearly expended his ammunition. The weather, too, which in that part of Ireland is rarely dry in the autumn, began to give tokens of an impending change; and the losses which Schomberg's army had sustained in the preceding years afforded a grave warning not to expose the troops again to Irish rains.

Accordingly, early in the afternoon of the 27th of August, a picked body of stormers marched to the breach. The garrison was taken by surprise, for such attacks were usually made under cover of the night, and



the stormers easily forced their way into the town. But Sarsfield and his officers soon rallied their troops; the narrowness of the streets was eminently in favour of the less disciplined soldiers, and a terrible conflict took place. The citizens and even the women took part in the struggle with stones and missiles of all kinds. Boisseleau sprang a mine, which caused great slaughter and greater confusion. One Irish officer, Brigadier Talbot, quitting the city by the gate with 500 men, passed under the walls, and re-entered again by the breach so as to take the storming party in the rear. After a fight of some hours, the trumpets sounded a retreat. The besiegers had lost, in killed and wounded, above 1,500 men.<sup>1</sup> William confessed a defeat by asking for a truce to bury his dead, which the Irish, in their exultation, refused. He had no means of renewing the contest, for his powder was completely exhausted, and three days afterwards he raised the siege, and crossing from Waterford to Bristol, arrived in England on the 6th of September.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay says the storming party consisted of 500 Grenadiers. The Duke of Berwick says, "Le Prince d'Orange fit donner l'assaut général par dix mille hommes."—Vol. I., p. 77.

<sup>2</sup> There has been some dispute as to the weather which prevailed during the siege. Lord Macaulay, of course, adopts William's own statement that his decision to raise the siege was in great measure caused by the heavy rains, and quotes two other accounts, which assert that the rains had begun to set in. On the other hand, the Duke of Berwick, who was in the immediate neighbourhood, affirms, with express reference to William's excuse, not only that there had not been a drop of rain for more than a month, but "qu'il ne plut pas de trois semaines après" (vol. I., p. 79). Neither Macpherson nor Dalrymple mention the weather at all. But Burnet states one fact which is irreconcilable with the belief that there had been much rain, if any. His words are, "They (the Irish) also abandoned the posts which they had on the other side of the Shannon; upon which the King passed the river, which was then very low." It certainly would have been the reverse of low if there had been the weather which Macaulay so graphically describes. And another remark of the Bishop, that "in that season

He left his army in Ireland, for so far was his own departure from implying any abandonment of the war, that strong reinforcements were at the same time on the point of setting sail from Portsmouth.

England, at this time, had in the Earl of Marlborough an officer who, though as yet he had had but little opportunity of displaying it, was endowed with an innate and instinctive genius for war, of which Europe had hitherto seen no equal example. And he, as a member of Mary's Council during the King's absence, had pointed out some weeks before that the French had evidently abandoned all idea of invading England that year, and he consequently recommended the despatch of a strong division to the south of Ireland to reduce Cork and Kinsale, the two ports by which the communication with France was chiefly maintained. His suggestion was reported to the King, who approved the plan, entrusting its execution to Marlborough himself.

The expedition was already waiting at Portsmouth for a fair wind ; and, a fortnight after William reached England, Marlborough landed at Cork with 5,000 men. He was joined by a division of about equal strength from the army which had been withdrawn from Limerick, and he lost no time. Cork was well fortified, and the garrison was abundantly sufficient to man the works ; yet the siege only lasted four days. A well-armed fort defended the harbour ; the task of silencing that Marlborough entrusted to the Admiral ; the ramparts he breached himself at a point where his keen eye had detected a comparative weakness ; and he was

it used to rain long, and by that means the Shannon would swell and the ground would be apt to become deep," seems to prove that it was the apprehension of coming bad weather, rather than the experience of rain which had already fallen, which chiefly determined William to retreat.

preparing to storm the breach when the garrison hung out the white flag, and surrendered at discretion.

He did not lose a moment, but that very evening he sent forward a brigade of cavalry to summon Kinsale. The Irish were as resolute there as at Limerick ; but before such a commander as Marlborough they were not more successful than their comrades at Cork. The town was untenable, so they set fire to it, and threw themselves into two forts which had been constructed for its protection. He stormed one, named the Old Fort, killing or capturing the whole of the garrison. The other, the New Fort, was by far larger and stronger, but he drove mines under the outworks, battered the main walls, and in ten days had carried the counter-scarp, and made a practicable breach in the ramparts. He was preparing to storm it when the governor capitulated on condition of being allowed to withdraw his troops, a concession well earned by the gallantry of his defence. But all the stores of every kind, which were most abundant, as in a place which had been the chief receptacle of supplies from France, fell into the hands of the conqueror, who, before the end of October, returned to England, having in five weeks accomplished all that he had recommended to be attempted, and having established the reputation, which no one admitted more cheerfully than William himself, of being as skilful in the execution as he was sagacious in the conception of great enterprises.

And at the same time, though not in consequence of his success, Lauzun returned to France. When he retired from Limerick he reported the state of affairs in Ireland to his government as wholly desperate ; and recommended the instant withdrawal of the French regiments. His advice was taken, and transports were sent to the western coast to

bring off the men and himself. Yet even now France did not wholly abandon the contest. Lauzun was accompanied on his return to Paris by Tyrconnel; who, having no hope but in the re-establishment of his old master, was urgent in his entreaties for more assistance, though not exactly of the kind that had been given before. He laid the blame of most of the failures which had been experienced on the jealousies that had arisen between the Irish and French soldiers, but promised that if Louis would only supply them with arms and ammunition, and some experienced officers to guide their exertions, the Irish would be able to defend themselves, and still to preserve the country for James.

His advice was taken. During the winter, the southern and western counties of Ireland, wherever the English troops did not keep the natives in awe, were in a state of anarchy and a prey to the most miserable disorders. Gangs, under the new name of Rapparees, traversed the country, burning, plundering, and often destroying what they could not carry away, without hindrance from James's troops, who connived at, if they did not share in their outrages. But, with the spring, one last attempt was made to continue the war. General St. Ruth, who had made himself conspicuous in his own country by the zeal with which he had persecuted the Huguenots, was sent over with Tyrconnel from Paris to take the chief command; he brought with him also General d'Usson and 200 officers to discipline any new levies which might be raised, and ample supplies of all kinds. Tyrconnel, too, brought a patent of peerage by which James created Sarsfield Earl of Lucan, though history has not acknowledged the title. But the heroic Irishman did not need this tardy recognition of his merits to stimulate him to further exploits, and during the brief campaign that followed, co-operated with a perfect

absence of national or professional jealousy with St. Ruth, and was still the soul of the Irish army.

William had gone to Flanders to conduct the war in that country, taking Marlborough with him ; and had appointed a Dutch officer, General Ginkell, to the chief command in Ireland. Fortunately General Mackay, who, though defeated at Killiecrankie, had even in that day of disaster approved himself a stout officer, and General Talmash, who, in the campaign of the previous year in Flanders, had established a high reputation for skill and courage, were now sent to serve under him. For St. Ruth, in spite of his cruelty, was a thorough soldier, energetic not only on the day of battle, but in preparing for it, and skilful in establishing discipline and order, and in rousing the spirit of his troops. The whole French army could probably have furnished no officer more suited to the work which had to be done, had it not been that a constant jealousy existed between him and Tyrconnel, and that he also regarded Sarsfield with similar feelings.

In the latter part of June, Ginkell opened the campaign by the siege of Athlone, a town lying almost exactly in the centre of Ireland, and of great importance from its position on both sides of the Shannon. The river at that point, and for some distance on either side, forms the boundary of the two provinces Leinster and Connaught ; and the part of the town which lies on the left bank, or in Leinster, was called the English, that which lay on the right, or in Connaught, the Irish quarter. The two sections were united by a narrow stone bridge, which was protected by a castle on the right bank, built, as tradition reported, by King John. The river was deep, but there was one narrow ford a short distance lower down. To master the English quarter of

the town was easy; for, indeed, the greater part of it had been burnt down in the preceding winter by the Irish themselves. But on the Connaught side the Irish fought valiantly, and the river opposed an almost impassable barrier to the English troops. The bridge was so narrow that superiority of numbers was of little avail; and, in the daily conflicts which took place on it, fortune was nearly balanced.

After two or three days of heavy cannonade, Ginkell did indeed beat in one side of the castle, and burnt one of two mills which stood on the bridge, and which the garrison had manned as outworks; but at the same time his cannon-balls injured the bridge itself, and rendered it unsafe to cross, even if he could have forced it. He tried to repair it, but the garrison destroyed his works with grenades. He began to despair; while St. Ruth, who was encamped with his whole army in the immediate neighbourhood, was so confident of eventual success, that he relieved the garrison with a fresh detachment of inferior troops whom he thought now sufficient to hold the town till the besiegers should withdraw. Ginkell himself was nearly of his opinion. His provisions were failing, while the injury done to the bridge made the Connaught side of the town stronger than ever. He called a council of war, a step rarely taken by men who are equal to responsibility, and who see their way to victory, but luckily the other generals were more hopeful than he. The ford was undoubtedly deep and narrow, and the landing on the other side was bad; but Talmash recommended that it should be tried; if but a few could effect a safe passage, it would then become practicable to throw pontoons across, and, if the further bank were once won, victory would be certain.

He was supported in his advice by the Marquis de

Ruvigny, the elder brother of La Caillemotte, who had fallen at the Boyne, and by the Duke of Wurtemberg, who had recently joined the army with a division of Danish troops ; and Ginkell, though not without grave misgivings, yielded, and gave orders that the attempt should be made. It fell to Mackay's brigade to make it ; and the old Scotchman, though he had confessed to sharing the doubts of the Commander-in-Chief, conducted the enterprise as cheerfully and vigorously as if he himself had planned it ; Talmash, the Duke, with many other officers of rank accompanying him as volunteers. The passage was difficult and dangerous, but it was almost unresisted. St. Ruth was at his own quarters. General d'Usson, who commanded the garrison, was at dinner. Only a weak guard was watching the ford ; and they, being taken by surprise, fled in dismay after firing a few ineffectual shots at the leading men. With very trifling loss the English reached the firm ground on the right bank. To lay down pontoons and to repair the broken bridge for the rest of their comrades was the work of a very short time ; and by the time that a messenger reached St. Ruth with the news that the English were crossing, a whole division was established in strength in the Irish quarter, and the town was won. It was the 30th of June, the anniversary of the day on which, in the preceding year, William had come in sight of the Boyne.

Deeply mortified, St. Ruth retreated towards Galway. Sarsfield recommended him to avoid a battle ; since his troops, though superior in number to those of Ginkell, and tolerably steady behind walls, were too inferior in discipline to be safely trusted in a battle in the open field. Galway and Limerick, he said, might be defended as Limerick had been defended in 1690 ; and, if Ginkell advanced



too far into Connaught, Sarsfield thought it even possible that he himself, with his cavalry, might make a successful dash upon Dublin, which was almost unprotected. But St. Ruth judged it necessary to his own credit to make amends for the loss of Athlone by an immediate victory; and having fallen back to Aghrim, where an old castle, a hill, and a morass afforded a strong position, he resolved there to try the fortune of a pitched battle. As Ginkell remained for some days in Athlone looking to the repair of the fortifications, St. Ruth skilfully availed himself of the respite thus afforded him to strengthen his position with breast-works; and at the same time he stimulated the courage of his soldiers by working on their feelings of religious enthusiasm. By his directions the priests were daily busy in the ranks, reminding them that their religion was at stake, and making them swear on the sacrament never to desert their colours; and thus the whole army was wrought up to a keen desire for battle, and to a resolution to efface the disgrace of the loss of Athlone, as eager as that which had prompted his own decision.

It was the 11th of July when Ginkell quitted Athlone, and after a march of ten miles came in sight of his enemy. He determined on attacking him at daybreak the next day, but a fog and other circumstances prevented all operations in the early morning, and by the afternoon he began to feel something of his habitual irresolution. Again he called a council of war. Talmash recommended an instant attack; this time Mackay also agreed with him; their advice prevailed; and, though by this time it was five o'clock, the whole army advanced to the attack.

No fiercer battle had ever been fought in Ireland. The King's troops were 20,000 men, St. Ruth's were 5,000 more,

and had the advantage of the ground. On the other hand he had fewer guns, and his men were less accustomed to war, so that on the whole the conditions of the fight were not unequal. Every step was stoutly contested. The English, in spite of the difficulties of the morass, pressed on with fearless heroism, but the Irish fought from behind their breastworks with equal vigour, and more than once dashed forward and drove them back. Mackay, who commanded the right wing, was forced to send to Talmash, whose task was to attack the castle, for aid. Talmash flew to support him. They laid hurdles over part of the bog, and thus made a narrow path ; but an advance so won was necessarily slow. Many of their men fell, and Ginkell began to meditate a retreat. St. Ruth, on the other hand, thought the time was arrived for him to become the assailant in his turn. Waving his hat, he cheered on his men, shouting out that he would drive the Saxons back to Dublin. They were almost his last words : a few minutes afterwards a cannon-ball struck him on the head, and the battle, which had been doubtful till that moment, was doubtful no longer. His staff concealed his fall from his followers ; but there was no longer a head to guide their efforts. Sarsfield was in the rear with the reserve, and no one brought him word how greatly his presence was required in front. Presently Mackay got a sufficient force of cavalry through the bog at the extreme right of the line to attack the Irish in flank ; Talmash still pressed on bravely in front, and at last their steadiness beat back the ardent but less sustained valour of their foes, now without a leader. After three hours of incessant fighting the Irish were broken and fled.

It is painful to have to add, that the victorious soldiers sullied their glory by their merciless ferocity to the con-

quered, whose gallantry merited a better fate. A large proportion of Ginkell's army consisted of foreigners, Frenchmen, Danes, and Germans, accustomed to bloodier deeds than have usually accorded with the English temper. They pursued the fugitives with unrelenting butchery, giving no quarter. A dark and rainy night at last checked their pursuit, and enabled Sarsfield to cover the retreat of those who escaped, but not till 7,000 had been slain. The conquerors, on their part, did not buy their triumph cheaply ; they lost 600 slain and 1,000 wounded, but the victory was worth even that loss, for it was decisive of the war.

Ginkell first marched westward to Galway, to which d'Usson had retreated. He capitulated on being allowed to retire with what regiments he had with him to Limerick. And to Limerick Ginkell once more followed him ; hoping, since that city contained all that now remained of the Irish army, to put an end to the war by its reduction. Sarsfield was already there. He had hastened to it from the field of battle, and, finding Tyrconnel there also, with the support of his authority, for James and James's partisans still regarded him as Lord Lieutenant, he had done what could be done to strengthen the fortifications, and to victual the city for a siege. But Tyrconnel died a few days afterwards of apoplexy ; and Sarsfield soon learnt to despair of making a successful resistance, or even of protracting the defence till the autumnal rains should set in.

Ginkell, flushed with his double success at Athlone and Antrim, carried on his operations with greater decision and skill than he had previously displayed. By a well-conceived attack on one of the bridges over the Shannon outside the walls, he cut off the communication between the garrison and a fine division of cavalry, the best troops remaining to

the enemy, which was encamped on the borders of the county Clare. An English fleet took its station at the mouth of the river, and stopped the only means of communication with France. And, seeing how weak he was within the city, and how destitute of all hope or possibility of aid from without, Sarsfield himself at last despaired, and opened a negotiation with Ginkell. He considered himself, and Ginkell regarded him, as authorized to treat on behalf of all the Roman Catholic party in Ireland. A careful discussion took place, in which Ginkell, who avowed his own ignorance of the English constitution and the views of English statesmen, was aided by Sir Charles Porter, who had been Lord Chancellor of the kingdom under Charles II. ; and by Mr. Thomas Coningsby, an English Member of Parliament who had acted as Paymaster-General of the Army of the Boyne ; the two, with Lord Sidney, having been appointed Lords Justices to govern the kingdom when William returned to England in the preceding autumn.

And eventually two treaties were concluded, a military treaty which was signed by Ginkell and Sarsfield, a civil treaty which was signed by Sarsfield and the two Lords Justices. The military treaty secured to all the Irish officers and soldiers who might wish to do so, liberty to depart to France, on giving up every town and fortress in their possession to William's generals. The civil treaty, which, however, was carefully stated to be conditional on its eventually obtaining Parliamentary sanction, granted an amnesty to all who should take the oath of allegiance to the new Sovereigns ; and secured the continuance to the Roman Catholics, throughout the island, of all such privileges in the exercise of their religion as were consistent with the law, or as they had enjoyed in the reign of Charles II.

Nor were they kept long in suspense or uncertainty, as to the willingness of the English Parliament to ratify it. The Parliament met in November ; the Ministers pressed its ratification earnestly, as that to which they were bound to agree, by every principle of national good faith ; and, though the Commons did for a moment desire to add the obligation of taking the oath of supremacy, and the declaration against Transubstantiation, to the oath of allegiance, they allowed themselves to be persuaded, and the Chief Justice of England was ordered to prepare a bill to give the treaty legal effect.

The military treaty was carried out with equal integrity, though its execution was not unaccompanied with disappointment and mortification to the authorities in William's interest. Sarsfield, who had made up his mind to take service in the French army, was naturally desirous to increase his own importance in the eyes of his new master by carrying over with him as large a force as he could persuade to accompany him. He called in the co-operation of the Roman Catholic clergy, who exerted on his side all that religious pressure which their religion enables them to put upon their flocks. In long and earnest sermons they declared that for any one to remain and enter the service of a heretic Prince was to imperil their souls ; they, at the same time, held out the prospect that they would soon be led back, with a host of French allies, to reconquer their native land, and to restore it to its lawful Sovereign. It was believed that they added the stimulus of brandy to their pious exhortations ; and Sarsfield was even accused of employing force, and of putting officers under arrest who hesitated to promise to adhere to him.

Ginkell, on the other hand, was equally desirous to retain

men who had shown how gallantly they could fight if well commanded, and whom, if they should follow Sarsfield to France, his King might soon have to encounter in Flanders. And he issued a proclamation assuring safety and protection to all who should choose to remain in Ireland, and honourable employment to all who would enlist in his army. But with the great majority Sarsfield and the priests prevailed. Many, indeed, who at first promised to embark found their hearts fail at the last moment, but still a very considerable force followed their gallant general <sup>1</sup> They reached Brest in safety, and in the spring were formed into separate regiments; the men of the better class being even honoured by being allowed to compose two companies of body-guards, one of which was commanded by the Duke of Berwick, the other by Sarsfield himself. He died a soldier's death on the hard-fought field of Landen; and they established for themselves and for their country a reputation for gallantry both brilliant and steady in every country in which the French armies waged war during the remainder of Louis's reign. But the hope that had been held out to them of returning to reconquer Ireland was never realized. James made no further attempt to recover the throne which he had lost by any enterprise of open honourable war.

William had been crowned King of Ireland in Dublin on the 5th of November in the preceding year; but that event

<sup>1</sup> Lord Macaulay, who says that one regiment, in which 1,400 men had promised to go to France, when the day came furnished only 500, would seem to imply that the whole number who eventually went did not exceed 5,000 or 6,000 men. The Duke of Berwick states them at "about 20,000," and cannot be very wrong, for he says Louis formed them into nine infantry regiments of two battalions; two of dragoons on foot; two of cavalry; and two companies of Gardes-du-corps, one of which was given to him and the other to Lord Lucan (Sarsfield).—Vol. I., p. 106.

was rather the assumption of the royal title than the establishment of it, for his right to it was denied in the southern and western counties, in half of the kingdom. Now, on the other hand, it was universally recognized. With the departure of Sarsfield, all resistance to the new Government was at an end. In order to assure the population of those districts which had been the scene of the last campaign, William issued a proclamation announcing that the civil war was terminated ; and in Ireland also the revolution was accomplished.

## CHAPTER XII.

Much remains to be done in England after the settlement of the Government—Real character of the Revolution—Many legislative measures are still necessary—Composition of the ministry—The Toleration Bill—The Comprehension Bill—The Case of the Nonjurors—William issues an Act of Grace—The Bill of Rights—Question of the succession after the death of the Princess Anne—Birth of the Duke of Gloucester—The subsequent Act of Settlement—Gradual change in the mode of administration and character of a Ministry—Disqualification of placemen for seats in the House of Commons—The Triennial Bill, altered at a later period to a Septennial Bill—Purification of the coinage—Expiration of restrictions on the Press—Establishment of Newspapers.

WHEN William and Mary accepted the crown which was formally tendered to them by the Parliament of England, and by the Estates of Scotland, and when, having been already crowned in Dublin, William was able to proclaim that civil war and all resistance to his authority was terminated in Ireland also, the revolution was in one sense accomplished. A change in the reigning dynasty had been effected, and the new Sovereigns acknowledged that they held their authority by a different title from that which their predecessors had claimed as belonging to them. But in another point of view there was still much to be done. The change which had been made, great and important as it was, was not the whole of the revolution for which those who had brought about that change were anxious, nor for which all succeeding generations of Englishmen down to the present



time have been and still are grateful. To them the Revolution has been something more. It has been practically the foundation of a new Constitution.

Up to this time the Constitution had too often been but a name. There had existed indeed for centuries laws and charters which had guaranteed to the English and Irish people all those privileges which are essential parts of real freedom, liberty of person, never to be violated except as a punishment for offences ; and security for property, so that no King should be able to take the money of any subject unless by his own consent, duly signified by himself or by his representatives in Parliament. And when Scotland became subject to the same Sovereign as England and Ireland, that country also obtained its equal share of the freedom granted or confirmed to all by the Great Charter. But these inestimable charters and laws had been frequently violated by despotic sovereigns, so frequently, indeed, that in some notorious instances, the judges had pronounced that the precedents of such violation were so strong as to override the written law ; and the great men who took the lead in bringing about the Revolution rightly felt that it would be a nullity if they failed so to avail themselves of the opportunity which it offered them, as to take securities that no such violations of the people's rights should be possible in future. That they were aiming at no new thing, but that these rights did of old belong to the people, was implied in the very title of the memorial which was read to the new Sovereigns before they were requested to accept the Crown, "The Declaration of Right." But that declaration required the ratification of a formal Parliamentary enactment to give it entire permanent validity. And a necessity for some other laws

which were more open to the charge of novelty had also arisen out of the recent change.

And to those steps towards the completion and security of the Revolution which depended on the action of Parliament, the two Houses at once began to apply themselves without delay. The first thing to be done by them, as a necessary preliminary to give validity to all their other acts, was obviously the vindication of their right to be regarded as a Parliament ; for they had not been summoned by royal writ, and till the acceptance of the Crown by the new Sovereign, they had been contented to call themselves a Convention. Many of the Tory members were inclined to deny that any power existed by which the Convention could be turned into a Parliament, and recommended an instant dissolution ; but such a recommendation was embarrassed by one insurmountable inconsistency, for it was plain that a new Parliament could only be held under writs, issued by William ; and that those writs could have no validity if he were not King, lawfully appointed by a Parliament or by a body in all respects equal to, and possessing all the rights and authority of, a Parliament ; so that, in fact, the issue of such writs, and the obedience to be paid to them by the constituent bodies would be a recognition of the fact that they were superfluous ; and that a Parliament of full competence and power already existed.

These irresistible arguments were strengthened, if they required strengthening, by the fact that, within the memory of the existing generation, a precedent had occurred which was exactly in point. The Convention which had restored Charles II. had had no royal writs to call it together, but the validity of its acts had been upheld by lawyers of all parties. William and his chief advisers accepted this precedent as

conclusive ; and, before the end of the week in which he had been proclaimed, he went down to the House of Lords, and, having summoned the Commons, addressed to both a speech of the same character as those with which former Kings had been accustomed to open former Parliaments. When he had retired, the Earl of Nottingham, as Secretary of State, brought in a bill for declaring the Convention a Parliament ; which, though it was fiercely debated in a committee of the House of Commons, was speedily passed and received the royal assent ; and, lest anything should be wanting to establish its authority in the eyes of future generations, one of the first bills brought into the next Parliament formally recognized the validity of every act passed by this one, both while sitting with the title of a Convention and after it had changed that title to that of a Parliament.

On the propriety of this measure all the advisers of William were agreed. Other measures were, in several instances, a compromise between the different parties in the ministry, though the word in the sense in which we now use it was not applicable to the men on whom William at first conferred ministerial offices, nor to those who had held such appointments under any previous Sovereign. Such a body of men as is now called to the councils of the Sovereign, all agreeing in all measures of policy, both foreign and domestic, and all being jointly responsible for every act of the Government, was as yet unknown. The responsibility of each official was limited to his own department. One minister had thought himself at liberty to oppose bills brought in by another minister ; nay, in the reign of Charles II. there had even been instances of one secretary of state being forward in promoting the impeachment of another.

And so, on first coming to the throne, William selected his chief officers on the principle of balancing one party against another, and conciliating all by allowing to all a share of ministerial power. The Earl of Danby, who, as minister of Charles II., had been with difficulty saved from impeachment, and was accounted the especial champion and leader of the Tories, was made President of the Council. The Marquis of Halifax, by far the ablest and most virtuous of the Whig nobles, became Lord Privy Seal. Of the two Secretaries of State one, the Earl of Nottingham, held the same opinions as Danby, the other, the Earl of Shrewsbury, agreed with Halifax. Lord Delamere, son of the Earl of Warrington and a Whig, was Chancellor of the Exchequer; the most important and most efficient of the subordinate Lords of the Treasury was Lord Godolphin, a Tory. The first Lord of the Treasury was a vehement Whig, Lord Mordaunt, the same nobleman who, two years before the revolution, had urged William to invade England; but, though that office is the one of which the possession now indicates the Prime Minister, in this instance it was the least important of all; for it was commonly understood that it did not become a King of England to be a *Roi fainéant*, but that it belonged to him, even if he did not take under his care the especial management of one department, to exercise a general superintendence over all; and William was his own prime minister, reserving to himself also the special and exclusive management of the foreign affairs of the kingdom.

It was probably from his taking so prominent a part in the administration, in a way which no subsequent King has imitated, and which would now be thought altogether unconstitutional, that the first measure submitted to the

Parliament was not the Bill of Rights, for which the leading statesmen might have been supposed to be most anxious, but one which he himself was personally desirous to carry, a Toleration Bill.

After the Restoration, the Parliament of Charles II. had retaliated on the tyranny with which the Puritan party had trampled down the Church with a persecution which was almost equally irrational and oppressive. All Nonconformists were classed together ; attendance on any place of worship, except those of the Established Church, was made a crime, which, on repetition, might be punished with transportation ; and the officiating ministers were exposed to even heavier penalties than the congregations. The King could not contemplate such a state of things without grave disapproval. He himself was a Calvinist, and, as such, more disposed to agree in doctrine with the Presbyterians of Scotland than with the English Churchmen ; though as a form of Church government he preferred Episcopacy ; but he did not attach great importance to any forms, and, as a statesman and a King, was more anxious that all his subjects should be contented with the justice and moderation of his civil government than that they should be drilled into a reluctant uniformity in religion, even had it been possible to enforce such uniformity by laws.

In compliance with these feelings of his master, Nottingham, before the end of March, introduced two bills into the House of Lords, one to establish a toleration of Protestant sectaries ; the other, which was called a Comprehension Bill, being designed to lessen the number of those who would be benefited by the first, by introducing such alterations in the Liturgy and discipline of the Church as should, it was hoped, induce the more respectable of the Nonconformist

sects to reunite with it. They were neither of them new measures ; for, as Lord Nottingham told Burnet, they were the very same which he had drawn in the reign of Charles II., with the intent that they should follow the Exclusion Bill if the House of Lords had consented to pass that measure.

The Comprehension Bill had a singular fate. Its most important clauses were two, the first of which went to relieve the clergy from the obligation of signing the Thirty-nine Articles, and substituted for that subscription a declaration of assent to the doctrine and government of the Church of England ; the second enabled Presbyterian ministers to hold benefices in the Church without reordination. A later clause provided for a revision, or at least a reconsideration of the canons and ecclesiastical courts. It was not strange that such a measure should be opposed by the extreme High Churchmen, and even by some who belonged neither to that party nor to that of the extreme Low Church, for, though the name be new, there has always been a third or Broad Church party also. But it was opposed by the Nonconformists themselves, by those sects whom the proposed concessions would not have satisfied. lest they should be weakened by the secession of those other sects which would be led by them to join the Church ; and even by many of those whom they would have satisfied. and especially by many of the Presbyterian ministers, who, had the Bill passed, would have been unable to find any plea for remaining separate from the Church, but who felt that an union with it would diminish their personal importance, their exclusive influence over their flocks, and in many instances the emoluments derived from their liberality.

Nottingham, therefore, naturally not anxious, and perhaps not able, to carry a Bill which pleased no one, not even those for whose benefit it had been framed, suffered the Comprehension Bill to drop. But the Toleration Act was passed. And, though some of its clauses seemed contradictory of one another, and though others still imposed certain restrictions on religious freedom which were hardly compatible with its title, it practically removed all the grievances which for the last twenty eight-years had pressed upon the different dissenting bodies, and secured to all Protestant sects liberty to worship God according to their conscience, so long as they did not disturb or endanger the public peace. The only obligation imposed upon them was that they should prove their loyalty to the new settlement, by taking the oaths of allegiance and supremacy, and by signing a declaration against the cardinal doctrine of the Romish Church, transubstantiation. This last clause was obviously intended to debar the Roman Catholics from profiting by the Act. Indeed it was expressly mentioned in the Act that it was not designed to afford the smallest indulgence to the Papists.

But it was singular and lamentable that matters so turned out that those who eventually suffered most from the new legislation on these subjects were a small party among the Churchmen themselves. Among the earliest laws passed by the Parliament, one very naturally enacted that no person should in future be admitted to any office, temporal or spiritual, without taking an oath of allegiance to the reigning Sovereign. The same obligation was with equal reason imposed upon all existing holders of civil or military offices. But a great effort was made to exempt the present holders of ecclesiastical and academical preferments from the same



obligation. They were not, like magistrates, concerned in the administration of the laws; they were not, like soldiers, liable to be called on to defend the new Government in arms. And it was well known that many of the most eminent of the whole order of clergy for rank, virtue, and ability, though perfectly willing to live peaceably and loyally under the new Government, had scruples about taking a new oath to a new Sovereign, while the old Sovereign, to whom they had formerly sworn allegiance, was still living. It was equally plain that the new Government would be in no danger if the new oaths were not tendered to such men.

And these considerations had such weight with the Peers, that, in the Bill imposing the oaths on the laity and on all clergy who should subsequently be appointed to any office, they inserted a clause exempting all present holders of ecclesiastical benefices, unless the Government should have cause to call on any individual priest to give such proof of his loyalty. But the Commons rejected it. William's conduct was singular, and less in accordance with his usual moderation and his statesmanlike equity than perhaps any other of his acts. He saw no necessity for imposing the oaths on those whom the Peers thus proposed to exempt. Even had their disposition been different, the smallness of their number prevented their being formidable. But he hoped to make the concession, to which he saw no reason in itself to object, the instrument to effect a compromise.

The Test Act was unrepealed, and therefore, as the law stood, even after the passing of the Toleration Act, no Nonconformist would be eligible for employment. He desired to obtain a relaxation of this requirement. And he was aware that the Tories, who were the chief sticklers for



its retention, were also those who were most anxious to procure indulgence for those clergymen who scrupled to take the new oaths. On the other hand, the Whigs, who wished to impose the new oaths on the clergy, were generally not disinclined to remove the remaining disabilities from the Protestant Dissenters. It occurred to him, therefore, to induce both parties to give way on one point; to persuade the Tories to consent to a modification of the Test Act, and the Whigs to abstain from forcing the new oaths on the beneficed clergy. But, on trying his own influence on the leaders of these parties, he found that even the Whigs were at the moment not specially eager for the repeal or modification of the Test Act, while the Tories were as firm or as obstinate as ever in their opinion of its necessity.

And, being thus disappointed in his prospect of procuring relief for the Dissenters, he resolved to let the Whigs have their own way as to the imposition of the new oaths on all the Protestant clergy. To impose them under penalty of deprivation was, in fact, to punish those whose consciences forbade them to take them, not for their own fault, but for the unconciliatory stubbornness of their lay champions in Parliament. And, as his willingness to dispense with enforcing the oaths showed his entire conviction that the enforcement of them was unnecessary, it is not easy to justify his sanction of the conduct of the two Houses in imposing them. For, after a long contest between the Houses, and many conferences, the Peers finally gave way; and the Act, as passed, required every holder of ecclesiastical preferment to take the oaths by the 1st of August, under penalty of suspension. But, as that date gave those affected but brief time for consideration, they

were allowed a respite of six months, during which those who had at first refused the oaths might reconsider their decision. If by the 1st of February, 1690, they had not taken them, they were then to be at once deprived of all preferments and left to starve ; the severity of the measure being, if possible, aggravated by the mockery of a clause which was added to enable the King to grant a small pension, which should not exceed one-third of the income taken from them, to twelve of those who had been deprived.

It was not to theoretical objections alone that the enactment was liable, beyond all question it was also practically injurious to the Church and to the cause of religion in the country. When the day came which had been fixed for the deprivation of all who had abstained from taking the oaths, it was found that those who had incurred the threatened penalty amounted to about 400 ; and among them were some of the highest in station, and the most eminent for virtue and talent in the whole body.<sup>1</sup> The Primate himself was of the number, and with him six Bishops, four of them being among those whom James had prosecuted in the preceding year ; but who were too rigidly conscientious to be biassed in their interpretation of their duty by any feeling of personal injury.

The transaction presents one of those unhappy cases in which both parties were wrong. It is impossible to agree with the nonjurors, as those who refused to take the oaths were called, as to the reasonableness of their scruples, which Dr. Johnson has well described as “the perverseness of

<sup>1</sup> However, Sancroft and his brethren were not at once expelled from their palaces, nor Sherlock from his house in the temple.—*See* MACAULAY, vol. III., p. 534.

integrity,"<sup>1</sup> since hardly one of the whole number doubted the propriety of acquiescing in the existing Government, or of continuing to perform the duties of his post in conformity to its regulations. While, as such a course of action would have been a direct disregard of James's orders, it was practically as entire a transference of their allegiance to William as could have been made by their taking of the oaths; and it is not easy to see the consistency of refusing to swear allegiance to a Prince to whom the person concerned is willing to render it. Nay, the most eminent of the whole body, Ken, Bishop of Bath and Wells, admitted that it was quite possible to conceive a degree of misgovernment which would have justified him in renouncing his obedience to James, but only doubted whether, in the instance before him, there was sufficient proof that that degree had been reached.

We must therefore blame those who refused, since such refusal could only be justified by solid and consistent reasons; but we must at the same time blame William for permitting them to be driven to the alternative, since he himself judged it unnecessary, and only sanctioned it because he was provoked by the impracticable temper of the Houses of Parliament on another subject which had no connection with the oaths in question. As he could not pretend the slightest fear that the men thus deprived would plot against his Government if they continued to hold their preferments, it was impolitic to deprive the Church of their ministrations. It was even more impolitic to throw such

<sup>1</sup> "Life of Fenton," p. 1. Fenton was not a clergyman, but an undergraduate of Cambridge, who was prevented from obtaining a degree by his refusal to take the oaths. He, however, seems to have had his scruples terminated by the death of James, since a note in the passage (Ed. 1790, vol. III., p. 311) states that he did take his degree in 1704.

men into the arms of those lay Jacobites who were unfriendly to his Government ; and he must have expected such a result of their expulsion, as ensued ; that many of them would be received into the houses of the wealthier Jacobites, as chaplains or tutors ; by their mere presence keeping alive and inflaming their patrons' hostility to the new dynasty ; and that others would collect congregations of malcontents, and be almost driven to inculcate a disloyalty which would have been far from their own minds if they had been left in peace.

We may see another proof that William, in his sober judgment, disapproved of the exaction of these oaths, in the anxiety which he showed for the speedy carrying out of another measure which was also brought under the consideration of Parliament before the Bill of Rights, a general amnesty. He was a brave soldier ; he was a sagacious statesman ; he was a consummate diplomatist : but his highest claim to our respect and admiration is, that he was, in the fullest sense of the words, a magnanimous ruler, utterly free from fear, and (except in one memorable instance, in which he was resenting not injuries to himself, but insults to her whom he had loved) from vindictiveness. And his generosity combined with his policy in prompting him to wish to give all parties confidence in his Government, by showing that he regarded none with disfavour. With these feelings, in the very first month after he had accepted the Crown, he recommended the Houses to pass a general act of pardon and oblivion, which should comprehend all parties and all individuals, except such as, during the reigns of Charles or James, had given the Crown such pernicious advice as might justly render them liable to impeachment ; or those who, under the cloak of the royal authority, had

committed crimes of which the ordinary law might properly take cognizance. For adhering to James during the period between the landing of William and the presentation of the Crown to the Queen and himself three months afterwards, no one was to be called in question.

No act could possibly be more necessary to give stability to the Revolution ; for so long as a large party was compelled to be discontented by its fears, there could be no security for the peace of the kingdom. Nevertheless, the King's recommendation had but little influence with the Houses. Party feeling is never magnanimous ; the Whigs, who in the time of Charles II. and James II. had hated the Tories with an enmity which was often personal and mortal, hated them still more now, when, from a belief that the new Sovereign could not fail to regard them with suspicion, they expected to have them at their mercy. The Bill of Indemnity was evaded in one session. In the next, the majority of the Commons refused even to go into committee on it, but framed, as a rider to it, a Bill of Pains and Penalties which would have included hundreds. William prorogued the Parliament ; and as he saw that it was hopeless to expect such a measure from a body of which both sections were animated by the bitterest party spirit, he took the matter into his own hands, and in May, 1690, after a new Parliament had been elected, sent down to the Houses what was called an Act of Grace.

The doctrine with respect to such an edict was, that Parliament could not alter a single clause or expression which it contained, but on a single reading must accept or reject it. And the mode of action thus chosen succeeded ; those who had thrown difficulties in the way of the Act of Indemnity were so impressed with the King's evident resolution to gain

his point, that they abandoned all thought of resistance to it, and the Act of Grace was accepted by both Houses without a single voice being raised in opposition to it. It was an act worthy of a King, only rendered more worthy by its contrast with, and opposition to, the long-remembering malignity of those who claimed to be most emphatically his supporters, and in whose despite it was done. A few persons were excepted from its benefits; those who had been the agents in the most lawless and tyrannical acts of the late King; and those who, having been prominent in the murder of Charles I., William's grandfather, had at the Restoration fled to foreign lands, and of whom one or two were understood to be still alive. But with those exceptions the Act of Grace wiped away the memory of every political offence committed by any member of any party, and with it the guilt and liability to punishment of every offender.

As this great boon to a section of the people was delayed by the perverseness of the Parliament, so also was the passing of the Bill of Rights impeded, though that concerned the liberties of the whole nation. It was framed in exact accordance with the Declaration which had been read to the Sovereigns when they accepted the Crown, with the addition of a provision that no one who was either a Roman Catholic, or who was married to a Roman Catholic, should be capable of succeeding to the throne. And it was indispensable to give validity to that Declaration, since it could not be said in strict law that their assent to it was of necessity implied in the mere fact of its having been recited in their presence. But, in the course of the progress of the Bill through the two Houses, William suggested the insertion of one additional clause. The settlement of the

Crown had not gone beyond the Princess Anne and her posterity, and any children whom William might have by a second wife. But it was obviously not improbable that neither William nor Anne might leave children, and, in that event, the next heir of the old line of Kings would be the Duchess of Savoy, daughter of the Duchess of Orleans, and, as such, granddaughter of Charles I. ; and after her, the elder branches of the Palatine family, descended from the Queen of Bohemia, daughter of James I. But all these were Roman Catholics, and the only Protestant of the House of Stuart was Sophia, a younger daughter of the same Queen of Bohemia, and wife of the Duke of Brunswick and Elector of Hanover.

William, therefore, in whose mind a desire to obtain the accession of Hanover to the league against France combined in this instance with his anxiety to secure the Protestant succession in England, was anxious that, in failure of his own issue and that of the Princess Anne, the Crown should be settled on Sophia and her posterity. But he took a singular way to effect his object, since he did not trust the arrangement to any of his Ministers, but employed Burnet, whom he had recently made Bishop of Salisbury, to propose the addition of a clause to effect that object when the Bill came before the House of Lords. Such a provision was so manifestly desirable, that the Peers at once agreed to it ; but the Commons, though the Jacobites were notoriously fewer in their House than in the other, rejected it. Their conduct was so strange, that Lord Macaulay<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Macaulay makes a strange mistake in condemning Burnet's account of this vote of the House of Commons. He says (vol. III., p. 395, note), " Though Burnet took a prominent part in the discussion of this question, " his account of what passed is grossly inaccurate. He says that the claus



can only account for it by a suggestion that the leaders of the Commons were glad of an opportunity to quarrel with the Upper House, because the Lords, sitting as a Court of Appeal on a Writ of Error, had refused to reverse a sentence which, in James's reign, had been passed upon Titus Oates, though the judges, on being consulted, had unanimously pronounced the sentence illegal.

The Peers had been undoubtedly wrong; but, if the Commons were really led by motives of resentment at their error to reject a clause undeniably necessary for the peace of the kingdom, their conduct was still more unbecoming. They were probably influenced, in at least as great a degree, by the circumstance that, while the discussions between the two Houses were proceeding, a son was born to the Princess Anne, who received the name of William from the King, who was his godfather, and who at his christening was created Duke of Gloucester. Still it cannot be denied that during the first years of this reign the conduct of both Houses was at least as much distinguished by a spirit of faction as by a spirit of statesmanship, and that the aim of the leaders on both sides was too often to secure the triumph of their own party rather than the welfare of the State. Conferences now took place between the two Houses, but the Peers would not abandon the clause, nor would the Commons insert it; and for the moment the Bill

"was warmly debated in the Commons, and that Hampden spoke strongly for it. But we learn from the journals (June 19th, 1689) that it was rejected "*nemine contradicente*." But there is no inconsistency in the two statements. The record in the Parliamentary journals only proves that no division was taken on the bill, which is often the case, even after the warmest debates, when the minority see the weakness of their numbers. And Burnet's account is fully confirmed by Dalrymple (vol. I., p. 365, 2nd edition, 1771).



of Rights was sacrificed to this unseemly squabble. But, whatever had been the motive of the Commons, the birth of the young Duke had such weight in the House of Lords and with the King, that, when, in the next session, the Bill was reintroduced, no one thought it worth while to mention the possibility of the succession of any other dynasty, and the Bill was passed unanimously.

But before the end of the reign it became necessary once more to take the succession into consideration. The young Duke, the "fond hope of many kingdoms," who, in the judgment of his preceptor, Bishop Burnet, was giving promise of a good understanding and an excellent disposition, died of scarlet fever in the last year of the century. Anne had no other living child, so that his death rendered it indispensable to make such provision as William had desired eleven years before. Indeed the choice of Parliament was so limited by the necessity of the successor to be selected being a Protestant, that Sophia had no competitor, and in June, 1701, the Bill settling the crown on her and her posterity received the Royal Assent.

This act may be regarded as the final legal completion of the Revolution, a character which is further stamped upon it by the circumstance that the opportunity was taken to incorporate in it several provisions which, though new, were of the greatest practical importance.<sup>1</sup> The Bill of Rights had only barred the throne against Roman Catholics, but the Act of Settlement of 1701 added the provision that the Sovereign should always be a member of the Church of England. It added a second to secure the independence of the judges, by making their continuance in office depend

<sup>1</sup> On all these additions, see Hallam's "*Constitutional History*," vol. III., p. 247, *seq.*, the last pages of Chapter XV., 3rd edition, 8vo, 1832.

on their own good conduct, and not on the pleasure of the Crown ; a third to prevent any prince who, being King of England, should likewise be possessed of foreign dominions, from involving this kingdom in war for their defence ; a fourth, which was evidently suggested by occurrences of the present reign, prohibited any one who was not born of an English father from becoming a member of the Privy Council, or of either House of Parliament, or from receiving any office or place of trust : and a fifth, which had probably a secret reference to some of the circumstances connected with the Partition Treaty, enjoined that all matters relating to the government of the kingdom, the consideration of which belonged to the Privy Council, should be transacted at its meetings, and that all resolutions taken on such matters should be signed by those Councillors who had advised or consented to them.

This last clause may be called a silent recognition of a most important though unmentioned change that, during the present reign, had gradually taken place in the mode of carrying on the government. We now speak familiarly of the statesmen employed in the conduct of State affairs as the Ministry, or the Cabinet, terms by which we understand a small body of members of one House of Parliament or the other, among whom the management of the most important departments of the State is divided ; who are all mutually agreed in their views of general policy ; and who are jointly responsible for every measure adopted. Such a body had been unknown in former times. The theory of our Government had indeed always been that the King carried it on after deliberation with, and therefore, generally at least, in accordance with the opinions of, his Privy Council. But arbitrary or indolent Sovereigns had often

dispensed with such consultation ; it was also self-evident that so large a body could rarely be expected to be of one mind ; and still more plain that the minority could never be held responsible for the adoption of the views of the majority. Accordingly, in all former reigns this independence of each Privy Councillor had not been supposed to be affected by his acceptance of ministerial office. Former Kings, and even William himself, on his first accession, had selected the heads of the different Departments without considering for a moment whether their political opinions agreed or not with those of their colleagues, and it had been in consequence not uncommon for one Secretary of State to oppose in Parliament measures urged by another.

But the greatly increased importance which the Parliament had derived from the Revolution, and the manner in which that event had been brought about, had rendered the continuance of such a system, or want of system, impracticable. It had made it impossible to carry on the business of any Department peaceably and successfully unless the Parliament approved of the manner in which it was conducted ; consequently, the management of the different Departments came to be confined to Ministers whom the Parliament did approve, and consequently also to men of similar opinions. A Parliament in which the Whigs formed the majority would support none but Whig Ministers ; a Tory Parliament would be equally decided in its preference for Tories. And, out of this harmony of opinion thus taken for granted, the idea of the mutual responsibility of all the Ministers naturally arose. The new practice was first exemplified about the middle of this reign ; the Whigs, to whom William chiefly owed his posi-

tion as King, sympathized with his views after he had become so ; on the other hand, the Tories, of whom very few had acquiesced in his promotion without reluctance, showed frequent opposition to his views, and especially to his foreign policy. And, as even the occupation of some important offices by different Tory nobles and members of Parliament was found of no avail to soften the opposition of the party as a whole, it was not strange that William gradually began to perceive how greatly his comfort would be increased if his chosen councillors were all taken from the Whig party.

The chief representatives of the Tories in the Government during the first years of the reign had been Lord Carmarthen, Lord Nottingham, and Lord Godolphin ; in 1693 Nottingham was allowed to resign because he, as War Minister, was unwilling to co-operate with Admiral Russell, whom the King had just placed at the head of the Admiralty. A year and a half later, Carmarthen, having been with some difficulty saved from impeachment on a charge of corruption, was recommended by William to abstain from attending the Council hereafter, though he would not proclaim his Minister's disgrace by formally dismissing him. The next year Godolphin was induced to resign ; and thus, in 1696, the Ministry became purely Whig ; Mr. Charles Montague, who had previously been Chancellor of the Exchequer, now uniting to that office the post of First Lord of the Treasury, and thus becoming the first Prime Minister of an united Cabinet.

One clause in the Act of Settlement was of brief duration. It prohibited the reigning Sovereign from ever quitting the three kingdoms without the consent of Parliament. It was manifestly a reflection on William himself, who, even

when not called to the Continent by the justifiable desire of conducting the operations of war, or of diplomacy, loved to spend large portions of his leisure in Holland, and had given great offence to his new subjects by his ostentatious preference of his native land. A year or two before, while his health was better, he would probably have refused to assent to such a clause. And it was not more palatable to the two first Georges, in whose affections Hanover occupied as large a place as he allowed to Holland. It was accordingly repealed in the reign of George I., who, with his son, made ample use of the liberty of movement which he thus recovered to the Crown; an use which their successors did not imitate; since of George III. and his two sons but one ever crossed the Channel, and George IV.'s visit to the Continent was of the briefest duration; while, at the death of William IV., Hanover ceased to belong to the British Sovereign, and no future King, it may be hoped, will ever possess any continental dominion.

Another clause has since been slightly modified. It was provided that no pensioner of the Crown, and no one who might be appointed to any office of profit under the Crown, should be capable of serving as a member of the House of Commons. This also had been suggested, in no slight degree, by the conduct of William himself; since his Ministers had availed themselves of the means at their disposal to corrupt members of Parliament, and had distributed secret bribes, and offices or pensions revocable at the pleasure of the Crown, as unblushingly as any of their predecessors in former reigns. But the clause was soon seen to have too wide an operation. As it was at first passed, it would have excluded even the Ministers from the House of Com-

mons, whose presence is more indispensable there than that of any other persons. And, as this was an objection which was felt almost instantly, in 1706 the clause was remodelled. To some offices the disqualification was still continued, from some it was removed altogether; while in the case of holders of the principal offices of state, and a few others, it was provided that, though their acceptance of such posts should still vacate their seats, they should be capable of re-election.<sup>1</sup>

Another law, though not passed till four years after the enactment of the Bill of Rights, and though subsequently altered, must also be recorded as a measure necessary to the completeness of the Revolution. No abuse had caused more general indignation, or had been more productive of practical mischief, than the license which the Stuart kings had assumed of making the duration of Parliaments, and the frequency of their meetings, depend on nothing but their own arbitrary will. Even since the Restoration, Charles II. had protracted the existence of one Parliament for seventeen years; and both he and his brother had shown the same notion of their right, or at least of their power, to dispense with Parliaments altogether, as had been carried out by their unfortunate father. By the time that William had been three years on the throne, it began to be seen that he was as much attached to what he conceived to be the Royal prerogative as any of his predecessors.<sup>2</sup> The number of placemen in the House of Commons, who were of necessity greatly under the in-

<sup>1</sup> In reference to this clause see also Macaulay's dissection of the Place Bill of 1692.—Vol. IV., c. 19, p. 339, Ed. 1865.

<sup>2</sup> "His spirit was quite as arbitrary and as impatient of control as that of any of his predecessors, Stuart, Tudor, or Plantagenet," are the words of his warmest panegyrist.—LORD MACAULAY, vol. V., p. 153.

fluence of the Crown, was so large, indeed, as to give rise to complaints that their votes overpowered those of the more genuine representatives of the people. And apprehensions were felt that, the more this was the case the less would the King be inclined to dissolve the Parliament, and to give the people the opportunity of new elections.

The discontent grew so loud, that, in the beginning of 1693, Lord Shrewsbury, who had resigned his office of Secretary of State some time before, brought in a bill known as the Triennial Bill. It provided that the present Parliament should cease to exist on the first day of the following year, and that in future no Parliament should continue longer than three years ; but it made no further provision for the issue of writs for a new Parliament after a dissolution than was contained in the re-enactment of a clause in the Act of Charles II. which forbade the intermission of Parliaments for more than three years. The framers of the new Bill evidently regarded the recent settlement of the revenue as a sufficient security for annual sessions. The Bill passed the House of Lords with very little opposition, and the House of Commons by a decisive majority. But William regarded it as an encroachment on his prerogative ; bitterly reproached some of those who voted for it ; among whom was his President of the Council, Lord Carmarthen ; and finally, against the advice of all his ablest councillors, refused to sanction it by the Royal Assent.

Hallam has characterized his refusal as an exercise of prerogative which no ordinary circumstances can reconcile either with prudence or with a constitutional administration of Government. And it placed William himself in a false position. The next session the Bill was brought in again. Again the Lords passed it ; but, in the Commons, Sir Edward



Seymour, who led the Tory opposition, by a skilful use of the argument that a Bill to limit the duration of the House of Commons ought not to have been first introduced in the House of Lords, procured its rejection by a small majority in a comparatively thin House.<sup>1</sup> However, the statesmen who supported it were resolved to attain their object. It was again brought forward in 1694. The jealousy between the Commons and Lords no longer prevailed. It was passed rapidly by both Houses, and William did not venture to repeat his disapproval. Rather more than twenty years afterwards, when from the continued intrigues of the Jacobites, an immediate appeal to the people seemed dangerous to the stability of the Government, the period of three years was altered to seven. And such a duration of Parliament has been found to work so well that no attempt to disturb the arrangement has ever succeeded, nor, it may be hoped, is any such attempt likely to succeed.

The reign also witnessed other changes, which had perhaps as great an influence on the subsequent prosperity of the people, and on the steady progress of improvement, as the most warmly demanded legislative reforms. The coinage of the kingdom had long been in a very bad state, and by a gradual process of deterioration had latterly become worse than ever. The method of coining, which had scarcely been improved since the time of Edward I., secured uniformity neither of weight, nor of size, nor of shape. Clipping and paring the coins in circulation had consequently become one of the most ordinary methods of fraud, and, though such an act was a capital felony, and as such was punished when detected with unrelenting severity, the practice pre-

<sup>1</sup> The numbers were 146 *v.* 136. In the previous session the Bill had been carried by 200 *v.* 161.



vailed to the great injury of our trade and, what was even worse, to the great demoralization of the people. But in 1694, the ablest financier that at that time Europe had ever seen, Charles Montague, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. And he at once applied himself to remedy the evil.

Many different modes were proposed, for the notoriety of the evil had awakened discussion ; and, among others, the celebrated Locke had displayed all his powers of lucid reasoning on the subject. That the old money should be called in and good money substituted all were agreed. The practical question which called forth the subtlest powers of argument, and roused the angry passions of a vast multitude, was on whom the loss caused by the depreciation of the existing coinage was to fall. For, on an average of the whole kingdom, the coins in circulation were not worth half the sum that they represented.<sup>1</sup> And many pamphleteers, pronouncing that the national Treasury could not afford so vast a loss, recommended that it should be borne by each individual who was in possession of the clipped coins on the day on which they were called in. But Montague saw not only that it would be preposterously unfair to make individuals suffer for evils for which not they, but the supineness of Ministers and Parliaments in times gone by was mainly accountable, but also that such a rule would utterly paralyze trade and commerce of all kinds till all the old money should be withdrawn from circulation ; since no one would sell his goods for coins on every one of which he was to lose half its nominal value in a few months. And, though the loss to the Exchequer would be large (it was estimated that it could not amount to less than £1,200,000), he resolved that the nation should bear it.

<sup>1</sup> See MACAULAY, vol. IV., pp. 626-7.

The new Bank of England, which owed its origin to his financial sagacity, lent the Government the money required, on the security of a new tax which he invented for the purpose, and which, though the cause of much clamour, and undoubtedly open to some grave objections, subsisted to our own time. The hearth-tax was one of the oldest sources of the national revenue, but it was bitterly and universally hated, as one which pressed unduly on the poor, and which gave the collectors pretexts for domiciliary visits, which were almost always annoying, and not unfrequently were made the means of unfair extortion. Montague now proposed to abolish the hearth-tax, and to substitute for it a window-tax, and the House of Commons unanimously approved of his design. In one point, his ingenuity, uprightness, and boldness was aided by fortune. Just at this time the office of Master of the Mint became vacant, and he conferred it on Isaac Newton, already known as the greatest mathematician that the world had seen, and who was now to prove that his practical skill equalled his mastery of abstract science. By his energy and ingenuity, mints were established in the chief provincial towns, as well as in London. The old coinage was called in in May, 1696, and though, as the new coinage was as yet ready in only small quantities, the scarcity of money for a few months produced great embarrassment, and even some hardship and suffering, by August the supply had become nearly sufficient, and before the winter set in, every trace of the old grievance, and of the recent difficulty had passed away.

The reform of the coinage was a great triumph of the administrative talents of the Government. Yet important as was its effect on the commercial prosperity of the country, its

value as a cause and means of progress for the whole nation was equalled if not exceeded by a reform with which the Ministers themselves, and apparently the leaders of parties in the House of Commons, had little to do, but which seems rather to be ascribable to the general good sense of the House, and to what Hallam calls the "influence of the popular principle in our Constitution."

In the middle of the reign of Charles I. a decree placing the Press under very severe restrictions had been issued by the Star Chamber ; but it is not to be regarded as having been dictated so much by the despotic temper of the members of that deservedly odious tribunal, as by the spirit of the age ; since, six years later, the Long Parliament, after it had declared war against the King, issued a similar order,<sup>1</sup> provoking Milton to remonstrate against their tyranny in his celebrated pamphlet, "*Areopagitica: An Address for the Liberty of Unlicensed Printing.*" It was equally in harmony with the notions of the Ministers of Charles II., for, as the order had expired with the Parliament which promulgated it, one of their first acts was to revive it with greater authority, and they procured the enactment of a law framed with the same object, though so far less objectionable that it had a temporary character, being enacted only for a period of three years. It, however, was renewed from time to time. When towards the end of the reign it had been suffered to expire, it was presently re-enacted ; and it had been renewed once in William's reign. In 1695 it was again about to expire, when a Committee of the House of Commons, whose

<sup>1</sup> The "Decree" and the "Order" are both given as a preface to the edition of Milton's "*Areopagitica*," contained in the series of English reprints, edited by Mr. Arber.

recommendations had evidently the approval of the Ministers, reported that it was one of the statutes which ought to be maintained. It does not appear that any one spoke in opposition to the recommendation, but when the House was called upon for its vote on the subject, that clause of the report was rejected. The Ministers apparently did not think it worth while to make a struggle for its renewal, nor does it appear that any one at the time thought it a matter of any particular importance. The House of Lords did, indeed, when a Bill for the continuance of other temporary statutes was sent up to them, reinstate what was called the Licensing Act among those named, but after a conference with the Commons they readily gave up the point, and from that time English literature has been freed from all Ministerial control. Milton's poetical anticipations have been realized, "A noble and puissant nation roused herself like a strong man after sleep, and shook her invincible locks."

The emancipation of the Press did even more than the poet had foreshadowed. It did not so much awaken what had slumbered, as create what had had no previous existence. Till this time no discussion of any political question could be addressed to the nation at large. The people could receive no light whatever on matters which might affect their dearest interests; for, even in the brief period during which the Licensing Act did not exist, the judges laid it down that by the common law of the kingdom no man had any right to relate or discuss political events without the consent of the Crown. There were no newspapers. There had been one or two circulated among the opposite parties during the rebellion and in the time of the Commonwealth, but they had all been suppressed at the Resto-

ration, and for the last thirty years the only publication pretending to relate news was the "London Gazette," which was edited by a clerk in the office of the Secretary of State, and was not allowed to mention any incident unfavourable or displeasing to the Government.<sup>1</sup>

There had been a few political pamphlets, or rather addresses, for they were usually confined to a single sheet, but they were written and published stealthily and anonymously, both author and publisher knowing that they were in danger of the pillory if discovered.<sup>2</sup> Now, however, all this was changed; not, indeed, that it was at all clear that the expiry of the Licensing Act affected the interpretation of the ordinary law on the subject as laid down by the judges of Charles II., but there seemed a general agreement to regard the removal of all restrictions upon pamphlets and treatises as the abolition also of the monopoly previously enjoyed by the "Gazette." And within a few weeks of the vote of the House of Commons a number of newspapers were set on foot, which, though meagre in size, poor in quality, and, in but few instances, appearing oftener than once a week, seemed of inestimable value to a generation which till then had known nothing more than its rulers had chosen to divulge, and which are scarcely of less importance to the present generation, as the forerunners of the copious publications relating the most important occurrences in every country in the world, pointing out their chief features, and examining them in all their bearings, which daily brighten our breakfast-tables.

<sup>1</sup> The "Gazette" of July, 1688, made no mention of the trial of the Bishops.

<sup>2</sup> The Act which was thus suffered to expire covered every kind of political writing. It was entitled "An Act of preventing abuses in printing seditious, treasonable, and *unlicensed* pamphlets," &c., &c.

One kind of information alone the newspapers did not venture to supply, the knowledge of how the members of the two Houses had spoken and voted in their places in Parliament. The old order, by which a century before the speakers had sought to protect themselves from the tyranny of Elizabeth, was still maintained in its original force, but not for its original reasons. Members who had taken bribes from Danby or from Barillon were as desirous to keep their baseness a secret from their constituents as the followers of Wentworth or of Hobby had been desirous to keep their fidelity to their duties a secret from the Queen. But gradually, though slowly, the spread of political knowledge, arising from the extension of the new system of intelligence, wrought the extinction of this order, of which, as being dictated by selfish timidity, its very proposers can hardly have failed to be ashamed, so that the present generation owes this knowledge also to the fortunate impatience of inquisitorial abuses, which, far more than the appreciation of any large principles of freedom of speech or of thought, led William's Parliament to emancipate the Press.

## CHAPTER XIII.

Dangers of the Revolution from foreign wars—Success of the French in Piedmont and Spain—The War in Flanders—Walcourt and Fleurus—In 1691 William crosses over to take the command—Luxemburg takes Mons—In 1692 Luxemburg takes Namur—The battle of Steinkirk—Campaign of 1693—Cowardice of Louis XIV.—The battle of Neerwinden—Subsequent campaigns—Recapture of Namur—The battle of La Hogue—Declaration issued by James.

THE different measures which have been enumerated in the last chapter may be regarded as the full establishment of the personal and intellectual freedom of every subject of the British Crown ; and consequently as, in another sense, the completion of the Revolution, which had that freedom for its object. Yet it could not itself be said to be fully established so long as there was any danger of the new dynasty being overthrown either by open foreign war, or by secret domestic conspiracy. It was plunged into foreign war from its very birth. We have seen that in the very month in which William and Mary accepted the English Crown, Louis furnished James with military aid to recover his throne. And such an act was manifestly a declaration of war on his part, though more than two months elapsed before the English Parliament addressed William to make formal reply to it by an official proclamation. William had, however, from the first been making energetic preparations for war by forming a coalition of allies ; and his diplomacy

had been so successful, that a declaration of war against France from the Empire, from Spain, from the States of Holland, and from the Elector of Brandenburg appeared even before his own.

For six years hostilities were carried on with great vigour on both sides. And at first the genius of the great French War Minister Louvois, and of the marshals whom he placed at the head of the different armies, seemed likely to turn the scale in favour of France. Catinat in Piedmont and Savoy, and the Dukes of Noailles and Vendôme in Spain, proved far superior in skill to their antagonists, though both, by the express orders of Louis himself, followed up their victories by the most inhuman cruelty towards the inhabitants of the districts in which they were carrying on their operations.

But it was in Flanders that the principal efforts were made on both sides; and it was there alone that English soldiers were engaged, and that the events of the successive campaigns could be expected to influence the state of affairs in England; though even in that country, during the first two years of the war, we did not attempt to play more than a subordinate part. The civil war which, in 1689, raged in both Scotland and Ireland necessarily detained the greater part of our troops in those countries; and the only force which William could furnish for the support of his allies in the Netherlands was a brigade on which, as the regiments composing it had formed part of James's army, he could not rely against their old master, and which he therefore sent, under the command of the Earl of Marlborough, to join the Dutch army under the Prince of Waldeck.

During that year Marshal d'Humières was the French Commander-in-Chief; and the scene of action was that



narrow district on the western frontier of Flanders which lies between the Sambre and the Meuse, and which has witnessed more bloodshed than probably any similar space in the whole world. In one smart skirmish, which arose out of an attack made by the French on an outpost occupied by the English brigade at Walcourt, the English troops maintained their old superiority ; and Marlborough, on this, the first occasion in which he was ever in command, showed a degree of skill far beyond that of the French officers, veterans though they were. When, the next year, Marlborough had returned to England, Luxemburg, who had been sent from Paris to take the chief command, and who was probably the greatest commander, with the exception of Turenne, who up to that time had ever had the glory of France committed to his skill and valour, had no difficulty in giving the Prince de Waldeck a decisive defeat at Fleurus, on nearly the same ground which witnessed one of the earliest battles of the revolutionary war a century later. But in that battle the English brigade was but little concerned ; and, by the confession of the French writers themselves, the victory was of very slight political importance.

It was not till the next year, 1691, that the war assumed a character which caused every event in it to be regarded with the deepest interest by both parties in England. A victory gained or a defeat sustained by our allies, in which our own troops had little share, was not calculated to have any effect on William's reputation or position. But at the beginning of 1691 he conceived that he could safely leave the war in Ireland to be finished by his lieutenants, and that it was in Flanders, where Waldeck was manifestly unequal to cope with the French marshals, that his presence

was more required. Accordingly, in January he crossed over to the Hague with some fresh regiments, which raised the English contingent to 20,000 men, and, after holding some meetings of the representatives of the different members of the coalition, at the beginning of March he took the field in person. His first operations were unsuccessful. Brigades which are supplied by various nations can rarely be brought together with the same promptitude as an army belonging to a single prince, and, though the allies had agreed to provide for the coming campaign a vast host of 220,000 men, William could not at first muster above 50,000, while by the middle of March Luxemburg had above 100,000 under his orders, and was able to reduce the important fortress of Mons before William's face without the King of England being able to make a single effort to save it.

Yet, if fairly estimated, the campaign, viewed as a whole, was highly creditable to William's skill. His policy was evidently to avoid a battle. Such an army as his, composed of Germans from many different States, of Dutch, Flemish, and British regiments, required time to learn to co-operate without jealousy, and to feel confidence in himself, before they could be expected to encounter with success a French army composed wholly of soldiers of one nation, and led by a chief known to them all in thirty campaigns, and by all admired and trusted as invincible. For these same reasons Luxemburg was eager to force the King to a battle. But so wary and skilful was William's strategy throughout the whole summer, that, with all his genius, the Frenchman could find no opportunity of attacking him with advantage; and after a bloodless campaign both armies retired into winter quarters.

Yet, though it had certainly been honourable to William in one point of view, it was nearly proving disastrous in another. His allies were less patient than himself. They were, or fancied themselves, less interested in curbing the pride and power of the French monarch. They were irresolute, fickle, and above all covetous and divided by mutual jealousies. A less indomitable spirit than that of William would have abandoned the coalition in despair, as he was more than once tempted to do; and a less able diplomatist would have failed to keep it united. By unwearied exertions, and great concessions, he did succeed in maintaining it, and even in strengthening it by conciliating Sweden and Denmark, whose attitude had previously been far from friendly.

But when all political difficulties had been overcome, he found it, in 1692, as impossible as he had found it in 1691, to take the field with full effect as early as Louis. And Luxemburg with 120,000 men had laid siege to Namur before William suspected his design, much more before he was in any condition to succour it. Namur fell on the 1st of July. William, though he had lost no honour by its fall, watched vigilantly for some opportunity of retrieving the disaster, and a month later flattered himself that he had found one. The Elector of Bavaria commanded one division of the allied army, and Luxemburg had succeeded in bribing his private secretary, a musical professor appropriately named Millevoix, to supply him with information of the movements and designs of his enemies. The secretary's treachery was discovered, and he was compelled by threats of instant death to send the Marshal Duke such false intelligence as might lull him into security, and enable William to make an attack upon his camp, in front of the little village of Steinkirk,

which, as being unsuspected, he reasonably hoped could hardly fail to be successful.

William's design was skilfully laid. He did succeed in taking his adversary by surprise so completely that he utterly routed the brigade which had the outposts of the camp committed to its care; and took all its guns. But he was unable to pursue his advantage with the rapidity on which he had reckoned. The ground which lay between the outpost and the main body of the French army was broken, intersected with rough fences and deep wide ditches. His meditated onset was 'unavoidably impeded; and to Luxemburg, who never under any difficulties or dangers lost his presence of mind, a very brief respite was sufficient. Though he had placed such confidence in the strength of his lines, and in his superiority of numbers, that he had expected nothing less than an attack from an enemy whom he had not yet learned to appreciate, a very short time sufficed him to collect his whole army in array to receive it; and, when at last William forced his way to his front, he found himself disappointed of all the advantages which he had hoped to gain from the surprise of his enemy, and reduced to fight a pitched battle on equal terms.

No such armies had ever met in a modern field. Each numbered near 100,000 men; and the stubbornness of the conflict corresponded to their strength. In the French line stood a force which had but lately joined it, the Irish brigade which Sarsfield had brought over from Limerick. They were animated by a threefold motive to exert themselves, by the desire to make a worthy return for Louis's protection and liberality; to win for themselves, at the sword's point, an honourable return to their native land; and to secure the

restoration of their exiled King to his throne. They fought as gallant men under such incentives were sure to fight. But the English were as fiery as they, and still more steady; and on this day earned the character, which they have never since lost, of being the best infantry in Europe. So indomitable did their valour seem, that Luxemburg was forced to bring into action the celebrated household brigade, "the gilded troop,"<sup>1</sup> as the Duke of Berwick calls them, composed wholly of gentlemen, and led by princes of the blood, by the Duke of Orleans, the Duke of Bourbon, the Prince of Conti, and the Duke of Vendôme. And even then the English might have held their ground had not William's unworthy favourite, Solmes, basely betrayed them. He commanded the division which, from its position, could have given them the most effective support, and that support he refused to give. "He wished," he said, with malignant jealousy, "to see what sport the English bulldogs could make." Unsupported, they could but perish where they stood. Mackay of Killiecrankie fell gallantly fighting at the head of his regiment, and with him many other officers who had recently, in the war in their own country, given promise of future eminence. After a struggle unequalled in its stubbornness, if the scantiness of their numbers and the overpowering strength of their assailants be considered, the remnant of the English division was beaten back; and when they were beaten none of their foreign allies made any stand.<sup>2</sup> But Luxemburg's victory, if, indeed, Steinkirk may not rather be called a drawn battle,

<sup>1</sup> La troupe dorée; la maison du roi.—"Memoires du Duc de Berwick," vol. I., p. 115.

<sup>2</sup> Et quand les Anglais furent vaincus il fallut que le reste cedât.—VOLTAIRE, "Siècle de Louis XIV." c. 16.

had been so dearly won that he was unable to derive any further advantage from it ; and, though it was boasted of at court as a brilliant achievement, it in no degree reconciled the French people to the continuance of the war, which was beginning to cause great distress throughout the whole of the kingdom.

But, if the French had had no real ground for exultation in the war in 1692, in 1693 they had reason for deep shame, though at no period were William and the Crown which he had won, and the cause of European freedom for which he so manfully struggled, in greater danger. In the preceding year the baseness of Solmes had perhaps deprived him of a triumph ; in this year he was, in his own opinion, as also in that of every Frenchman capable of forming a judgment, saved from utter ruin by the disgraceful conduct of another person, and that person was Louis himself. Louis liked the parade of war ; he liked to come with all the pomp of a gorgeous and voluptuous court to the head-quarters of an army while it was besieging a town, and, in tents glittering with silk and gold, to feast at a safe distance from the trenches while his generals and engineers were battering breaches in the walls ; to receive the keys of the conquered fortress as spoils won by his own valour ; and then to return to Versailles to listen to fresh flatteries from poets and preachers, who vied with one another in their fulsome adulation. But he never trusted himself with his armies when a battle was at hand in which some dashing attack or chance bullet might expose his Royal person to danger.

At the beginning of May he had come to Luxemburg's camp, expecting that the great Duke would enable him to add the keys of Brussels or Liege to his trophies. But

Luxemburg, who had 120,000 men, hoped rather, by making demonstrations against those great cities, to draw William, who was sure to make every possible effort to protect them, into a situation where he could force him to a battle, which, as the allied army did not exceed 70,000, could scarcely have any result but its entire destruction. To his dismay and shame, he found that Louis, the moment that he learnt that a fight in the open field was contemplated, determined to return to Paris; seeking to disguise his cowardice by pretending a change in the plan of the campaign, and by detaching the Dauphin, with Marshal Boufflers and 40,000 men, to the Rhine. In vain Luxemburg threw himself on his knees<sup>1</sup> before his Sovereign to entreat him to abandon so dishonourable a purpose. Louis was sufficiently alarmed to be resolute; and the Duke was left with an army thus reduced to little more than an equality with his adversary, to endeavour to throw a veil over his master's dishonour by his own glory. He could not screen it from those concerned. William himself, who was too magnanimous to dissemble his errors, confessed that he had brought himself into a situation in which nothing but a miracle could have saved him from ruin. The French soldiers, equally clear-sighted, and feeling that their King's flight had disgraced the whole nation, gave free license to their tongues, and even the courtiers and fine ladies who had accompanied the court to Flanders and back to Versailles, in spite of the pleasure with which they returned to the luxuries of the palace, spoke with unaccustomed plainness of the cause of their return; and in the graphic

<sup>1</sup> Luxemburg, au desespoir de se voir échapper une si glorieuse et si facile campagne, se met à deux genoux devant le roi, et ne peut rien obtenir.  
—ST. SIMON, vol. I., p. 96.



language of St. Simon, made it a point of honour to be ashamed of it.<sup>1</sup>

Still, so far as the disgrace could be washed out by subsequent success, the national honour could be entrusted more safely to no one than to Luxemburg. Even after Boufflers had left him, he was stronger than William by 20,000 men. But he was not satisfied with that superiority; he aspired to finish the war at a single blow; and, to render the victory which he promised himself absolutely decisive, he made such a demonstration of a design to attack Liege as induced William to detach 20,000 men to protect that important city. Then, when the allied army was reduced to 50,000 men, he collected his whole force and marched against the King with 80,000.<sup>2</sup> It was late in the evening of the 18th of July when William, who fancied him still bent on the reduction of Liege, learnt that he was close at hand, and would certainly fall upon him at daybreak with a force more than half as strong again as his own.

He saw at once that he had been out-generalled. He might still have retreated with safety; for a little beyond his right was the Lesser Gheet,<sup>3</sup> a stream which, though

<sup>1</sup> Il faisaient honneur d'en être honteux.—ST. SIMON, vol. I., p. 99.

<sup>2</sup> In the battles of this age it is generally difficult to make out the precise numbers engaged, because the reports do not describe the armies by the number of the men, but by the number of battalions (of infantry) and squadrons (of cavalry). For instance in this battle (which the French call Neerwinden, and English historians in general Landen) Berwick says they had 96 battalions, and 210 squadrons, and that the Prince of Orange had "only 65 battalions, and 150 squadrons." A battalion may perhaps be taken generally as consisting of about 500 men, a squadron of about 200. This calculation would, according to Berwick's account, make the French army 90,000, and the allies 62,500, which is certainly a number greater than the truth in both cases.

<sup>3</sup> There is some obscurity in the accounts of this battle, for Berwick says William's camp was between the two Gheets (the Greater and Lesser



of no great width, was deep, with high steep banks, and with several bridges, all of which were in his possession ; and the Elector of Bavaria, with most of his generals, earnestly counselled such a step. But he probably looked at his position as much with the eye of a statesman as with that of a general ; and feared the moral effect on both his troops and his allies of a movement which must seem a confession of inferiority, as well as the possibility that a retreat might lead to the loss of either Brussels or Liege. Confiding, therefore, in his own indomitable courage, he resolved to hold his ground ; and at once applied himself so to strengthen his position, as in some degree to make up for his inferiority of numbers. His troops were as energetic as himself. When day broke and Luxemburg rode to the front of his army to give the signal for battle, he was astonished to find that in a single night wide trenches four feet deep had been cut, and palisades erected along the whole of the allied line ; that redoubts, half-moons, and other defences in use with the engineers of that day, had been constructed, and bristled with nearly 100 guns ; in short, that he had to attack a well-garrisoned fortification, instead of what he had expected to find, an unprotected and helpless mass of troops.

But he did not on that account hesitate a moment ; but at once poured his columns on the allied position both in

Gheet, as they are called in our maps), but afterwards he says William's left rested on a stream (deep enough to form a defence, he calls it *un bon ruisseau*), and his right on the village of Neerwinden. But Neerwinden is *not* between the two Gheets, but to the south of the Lesser Gheet. There is a small stream, the Landen, to the south of Neerwinden, which Berwick probably mistakes for one of the Gheets. I call the battle that of Neerwinden, because the conquerors have always a right to give the name to their victories.

front and flank ; supporting them, till they closed with their foes, with a heavy fire of artillery. William's left rested on a little stream called the Landen, his right on the village of Neerwinden, which was the key of his position ; and, as both armies saw its importance, the struggle which both made for its possession was one of extreme stubbornness. Twice it was taken and retaken. In one conflict the Duke of Berwick, who commanded the attacking division, was taken prisoner ; many other officers of high rank were killed. At last Luxemburg, as at Steinkirk, was forced to bring up the Household Brigade ; and they, gallantly led by the Duke of Bourbon, and the Duke of Chartres (afterwards the Regent d'Orleans), who, though but a boy, showed on this day the valour of a veteran soldier, came on with the brilliant impetuosity habitual to them, which now for the first time was found not to be irresistible. For a moment, indeed, they made themselves masters of the disputed village ; but William put himself at the head of some English regiments, and other picked troops, and drove them out again with prodigious slaughter. All that the most heroic courage could do, William, by the confession even of his admiring enemies, did ; but in the end Luxemburg's numbers and skill prevailed. The allied ranks, greatly inferior in number from the very beginning, had been terribly thinned ; and at last, after eight hours of hard fighting, those who remained were beaten back at all points. Then as the French pressed on with triumphant cheers, the disorder became terrible. Whole regiments of the allies threw away their arms and colours, and pressed in undisciplined flight towards the bridges over the Gheet. The King himself and General Talmash, at the head of the British division, still fought desperately to cover the retreat ; till they, and especially the

King, were more than once nearly taken prisoners. William was almost the last to cross the river; and with his retirement from the field the battle ended.

The French had full right to boast, as they did boast, of a complete victory.<sup>1</sup> But they were in no condition to improve it. If on the side of the allies 12,000 or 14,000 men had fallen, Luxemburg's loss had not been greatly less.<sup>2</sup> Many of his noblest and bravest officers lay dead on the field; among them the gallant Sarsfield. And Luxemburg himself, aged and infirm, had no longer the energy necessary to cope in a protracted series of operations with so unwearied and indomitable an antagonist as William, who never showed greater vigour or greater military capacity than in the exertions which he made to reorganize his army after so terrible a defeat.

It had, indeed, been a critical day, not only for him but for England. Had he been slain (and his physical weakness had prevented him from wearing the cuirass which was still the usual protection of officers of rank), or had he been taken prisoner, all that had been done with such labour and such judgment in the last five years would have been in no small danger of being undone. The coalition against France must have been dissolved at once. Louis would have been at liberty to employ his whole strength for the restoration of James; while the English people, however disposed to rally round Mary's throne, would, at first at all events, have had no trustworthy leader to guide their efforts. It is hardly conceivable that they could have

<sup>1</sup> "La victoire se peut dire complète."—ST. SIMON, vol. I., p. 111.

<sup>2</sup> Berwick says 8,000; St. Simon not much under 10,000; and the French had already learnt to disguise their own losses, and to exaggerate those of their enemies.

averted the re-establishment of James except at the cost of another civil war, during which the deaths of Mary and of the young Duke of Gloucester would have been further discouragements to those who were still standing forward in defence of the principles of the Revolution such as they could hardly have surmounted. Surely, without superstition it may be said that Providence, which throughout this terrible day watched over William's safety, was at the same time watching over England, that one model and bulwark of civil and religious liberty might be preserved in the world.

It was, however, the last danger of the kind to which William was exposed. The year 1694 passed by without any warlike incident of importance to either army. And the death of Luxemburg, which happened in the first week of 1695, deprived the enemy of the only soldier to whom William was decidedly unequal. Villeroy, the Marshal whom Louis now matched against him, was more inferior to him than he had been to Luxemburg. Though his force was, as usual, superior to that of the allies, William out-manceuvred him; re-took Namur in spite of him, though it was defended by a resolute and skilful governor, Marshal Boufflers; and the result of the whole campaign was to establish at last a decided superiority of the allies to the French armies in that quarter. It was plain to the most sanguine of the French councillors that the only prospect of overthrowing William's throne was by assassination. And to that accordingly they applied themselves.

For, though at first the operations of the fleets had also been in some degree advantageous to the French, their moment of success was as brief as the success itself had been trivial. In the spring of 1689 Admiral Herbert, though furnished with a fine fleet for the express purpose of

intercepting the communications between France and Ireland, had limited his exertions to an action in Bantry Bay, which was wholly indecisive, and which he made no effort to renew. And in the summer of 1690, having been created Lord Torrington in the interval, he conducted his operations with such irresolution and unskilfulness that he was defeated off Beachy Head, though the loss had fallen chiefly on the Dutch squadron, who engaged with great gallantry in the conflict from which, so far as he could, he kept the bulk of the English ships aloof. Of the English squadron only one ship was captured, so that though disgraced it was but little weakened; and the recollection of this discomfiture was soon effaced by British triumphs, which, if the preponderance of force on our side forbids us to describe as glorious, were at all events unusually decisive, and, in their bearing on the subsequent operations and plans of the enemy, all-important.

In 1692, Count Tourville, the Admiral who had commanded at Beachy Head, was again sent with forty-five sail of the line into the Channel, with orders to take under his command another fleet of equal strength which was to come round from Toulon, and to attack the English Admiral wherever he might find him. Foul winds, however, kept the Toulon fleet in the Mediterranean, and Tourville had still only his own division with him when, on the 19th of May, he fell in with Admiral Russell, who had superseded Lord Torrington in the command of the English fleet, and who was now at the head of a combined force of English and Dutch ships which amounted to more than double the Frenchman's numbers. The moment the two fleets came in sight of each other. Russell made the signal for action; and Tourville, though completely

surprised by his overpowering numbers, conceived that his orders left him no discretion, but bound him to fight under any circumstance. He fought with great gallantry and great skill, but to a battle engaged in against such odds there could be but one end. Many of his ships were taken or destroyed ; and those which escaped to their own harbours found those harbours no protection.

Under Russell's orders were Sir Ralph Delaval and Sir George Rooke, two officers of the highest reputation in the service. He at once sent Delaval to attack the ships that had reached Cherbourg, and Rooke against a large division which had got into the Bay of La Hogue. Delaval destroyed those at Cherbourg, while Rooke forced his way into the Bay of La Hogue. The contest there was one of unusual interest, for it took place under the eyes of King James himself. It had not been merely for the sake of gaining a naval victory over an equal force, however glorious that would have been, that the Toulon fleet had been ordered to leave the Mediterranean undefended and to unite with Tourville in the British Channel. The object aimed at had been far larger : the same to which, above a hundred years afterwards, Napoleon also looked as the means of humbling England. The fleets when united were to cover the passage of an invading army to our shores. All the Irish regiments which Sarsfield had brought over, and 10,000 French soldiers under Marshal Bellefonds, were encamped at La Hogue ready to embark in their transports the moment that the English fleet had been beaten back to its harbours. And James himself was among them, impatiently waiting for the moment when he might set sail to recover his old kingdom.

The scattered ships which sought refuge in La Hogue

Bay, had brought him the first intelligence of the downfall of his hopes. But they had scarcely reached it when the English ships were also seen crowding all sail after them. It seemed an unequal contest, for the French vessels ran on shore when ours could not approach them without the certainty of also grounding, and where they were protected by the guns of the different forts and of several batteries which Bellefonds rapidly constructed at the very water's edge. But English sailors had long learnt to despise all such obstacles. Finding that his ships could not get within shot, Rooke sent in his boats. The very audacity of the attack struck a panic into the French sailors. As the English came on, many of the French deserted their ships, escaping to the shore before their assailants could grapple with them. Even some regiments which Bellefonds had brought down to harass the boats with musketry, fell back after firing a few volleys. In a very short time the English sailors had mastered and set fire to the whole French squadron, as well as to the transports and storeships which had been collected for the use of the army. Yet, bitter as must have been the feelings of James, they were overpowered for a moment by the recollection of former days, when he, too, had led a British fleet to victory. And, as he saw Rooke's sailors springing from their boats up the lofty sides of the French three-deckers, James exclaimed that "None but his brave Englishmen could have performed so brave an action."

The news of the victory was received in England with unbounded exultation, which was not confined to the Whigs. Patriots in general rejoiced that the stigma thrown on the English navy by the pusillanimity of Torrington, in the previous year, was so splendidly effaced. Many even of



the Tory party who had hitherto been inclined to favour James's restoration, acknowledged that it was well for the country that the well-laid scheme of invasion had been thus defeated. And this change of feeling arose from no fickleness on their part, but from the fierce obstinacy and perverseness of James himself. In full confidence of the success of the intended invasion, he had announced his approaching return, in a printed declaration, in which he began by exhorting the English people in general to join his standard ; but immediately proceeded to render obedience to his exhortation hopeless. He gave, indeed, fair promises of his maintenance of the old Constitution in future ; but he neutralized them by denying that he had ever violated it. And, after denunciations of the wickedness of those who had calumniated him, and the weakness of those who had believed their calumnies, and assurances of forgiveness to the bulk of those who had deserted him, or had obeyed the usurping Prince of Orange, he excepted from such forgiveness, as traitors to be consigned to instant execution, a number of the most eminent and powerful men in the kingdom ; and a still greater number of persons of no importance at all.

Thirteen lay Peers, including those of such influence as Danby, Nottingham, Sunderland, Marlborough, and his first wife's nephew, Lord Cornbury ; four prelates, including Tillotson, whose sole offence was having accepted the Primacy, with many members of the House of Commons, headed the list, which was completed by a vast number of persons of less note : The fisherman who in perfect ignorance had stopped and insulted him at Feversham ; the magistrates who had committed for trial a man named Cross for holding treasonable communications with Tourville before



Beachy Head, with the Crown lawyers who had prosecuted him, the jury which had convicted him, the judge who had sentenced him, the gaolers and turnkeys who had been concerned in keeping him in prison till his execution ; and, above all, the executioner. Many others were inserted in the black catalogue of those for whom there was no mercy, though they were protected by an express statute ; for the only offence charged against them was that in various official capacities they had obeyed the orders of the existing Government ; and a law as old as the time of Henry VII. declared "such obedience to a *de facto* King innocent.

So malignant and revengeful was the spirit which the Declaration displayed, that the Ministers, who, during William's absence in Flanders, acted as Mary's Council for the government of the kingdom, reprinted it and circulated it over the kingdom ; judging that nothing could more strengthen the loyalty of the nation in general to their new rulers than the proof of what was to be expected if the old ruler should be restored. And they judged correctly. James's display of unrelenting vindictiveness not only confirmed the loyal, but offended the wavering. It alienated Russell himself, who had previously been discontented with the new Government, and had even held out hopes to James's agents of future co-operation with them ; but who had made the publication of an universal amnesty an indispensable condition of his assistance. He now renounced all connection with the Jacobite party. His fidelity to the new dynasty was cemented by a letter which, at this juncture, Nottingham, as Secretary of State, addressed to him as Commander-in-Chief, purporting to be written by the Queen's express command, to declare the implicit confi-

dence which she herself and the King felt in the constant loyalty of the fleet. He, and the whole fleet under his command, were deeply flattered by so judicious and noble an appeal to their good faith. They answered by a loyal address, in which they pledged themselves to uphold the Crown and the Protestant religion at the hazard of their lives; and their behaviour in the Channel and in the Bay of La Hogue was the faithful redemption of their pledge.

Nor was La Hogue the only place on the French coast that suffered from the enterprise of our sailors. Admiral Benbow, with one squadron, destroyed the forts at St. Malo; Lord Berkeley burnt Dieppe and the greater part of Havre; Sir Cloudesley Shovel destroyed the fortifications of Calais. The only place where we failed on the northern coast was Brest, where a combined attack made by a naval and land force under Lord Berkeley and General Talmash was repulsed with heavy loss, the brave Talmash himself being among the slain;<sup>1</sup> while our triumphant fleets pene-

<sup>1</sup> This was the expedition, the failure of which Lord Macaulay imputes wholly to the treachery of Marlborough in sending intelligence of the proposed expedition to James at St. Germain. No excuse can be made for Marlborough's baseness without dishonouring him who would plead for it. But there seems but little doubt that the French had received ample information of the object of the expedition before Marlborough's letter was written. Indeed, it seems almost certain that the letter was designedly kept back by the writer till it was too late to be of use. The very words of the letter are "Russell sails to-morrow." Marlborough's object apparently being, not to defeat the expedition, but to take credit with James for having tried to defeat it, in the event of his recovering his throne, which, however improbable, he could not but look upon as impossible. In fact, William's own announcement of an intention to attempt a descent on the French coast, which he made to his Parliament in November, 1692, was quite enough to put Louis on his guard, and Vauban had been sent down to put the defences of Brest in order some months before the expedition sailed.

trated the Mediterranean also, Russell pursuing Tourville into Toulon, blockading him there, and greatly lowering the reputation of the French, and exalting our own among all the nations, Christian or barbarian, which dwelt upon the shores of the Mediterranean.

## CHAPTER XIV.

Intrigues and plots against William—Hopes of James and his courtiers—Doubtful fidelity of the English nobles—Personal unpopularity of William—State of the Highlands—The Massacre of Glencoe—Lord Preston's conspiracy—Treachery of Fuller and Crone—Plot of the Earl of Marlborough—Grandval's conspiracy—Death of Queen Mary—Compounders and Non-compounders—Lord Middleton is invited to St. Germain—James publishes a New Declaration—Charnock's conspiracy—Detection of the plot—A Bond of Association is signed—Recent alterations in the law of trials for High Treason—Case of Sir John Fenwick—His Execution by Act of Attainder—Objections to which Acts of Attainder are liable.

THE events which have been mentioned in the last chapter were the last incidents in the war, which was nominally protracted for two years longer, but which was marked by no exploit of the slightest importance on either side after the recapture of Namur. But the hopes of Louis and James, as has been already said, were not confined to honourable warfare. From the day on which James fled back from the Boyne, to St. Germain, his Court was the scene of constant intrigues with the English Jacobites, and with all others whom it seemed possible to allure to join that party, and of conspiracies for the restoration of James, some of which avowedly included the assassination of William, and all of which assuredly contemplated it, since it was not easy to conceive how the one object could be attained without the accomplishment of the other.

It was not strange that James should at first be easily led to believe that the intrigues which those around him were unweariedly carrying on in England would be successful ; for, even among the highest in hereditary rank or official dignity, there were very few who refused to listen to the seductions of his agents. Marlborough, the greatest soldier of the army, and one who, by his unrivalled persuasiveness and address, had vast influence over people of all classes and ranks, and especially over the Princess Anne, was in frequent communication with them, though his views were probably directed rather to secure pardon and favour in the case of a new restoration, than to contribute to such an event. Russell, the first officer in the navy, though the near kinsman of the Lord Russell who had perished on the scaffold in the reign of James's brother, for some time showed almost equal signs of discontent at the results of the Revolution. It was still more encouraging that the Earl of Shrewsbury, though Secretary of State, displayed the same disposition, though his conduct seems to have proceeded rather from constitutional irresolution than from deliberate treachery ; and that the Earl of Clarendon, though Mary's uncle, had refused the oath of allegiance, and hardly concealed his unwillingness to aid in any plot which might bring about a counter-revolution.

And the belief entertained not only by the Councillors of James, but by the far abler Ministers of Louis, was, that the frequent absences of William from London, while he was conducting the war in Ireland, and afterwards in Flanders, afforded especial facilities for the accomplishment of the plotters' designs. They were probably mistaken. Whenever William quitted the kingdom, Mary took charge of the Government, with the aid of a Privy Council selected

with great care ; and, as she was far more popular than her husband, while her advisers of the Council were infinitely better acquainted with the inclinations and temper of the people than he, it may well be questioned whether he would have been as successful in keeping waverers faithful, and in kindling a more zealous enthusiasm in the loyal and steadfast, as she proved on one memorable occasion.

It may, indeed, be even said that he himself encouraged the formation of plots against his Government by many parts of his own conduct. In spite of his many great talents and virtues, in some points he contrasted unfavourably with his predecessors, with Charles II. and even with James II., while the qualities in which he was most deficient were precisely those which make the greatest impression on the multitude, whose observation, from the scantiness of opportunity, must necessarily be superficial. Charles had been eminently courteous and affable ; and James, though without any tincture of his brother's good-nature, yet in his intercourse with those about him displayed much of that dignified courtliness which had been so marked a characteristic of his father's demeanour. But William had not inherited with the Stuart blood any portion of the Stuart graces. His disposition and manners were, no doubt, affected in some degree by his bad health, for he was an almost constant sufferer from that most distressing of all complaints, asthma. But he was by nature reserved and unsociable, if not morose, and rude and coarse in his demeanour not only to men but to ladies, even to his own wife and her sister, to whom he more than once behaved with a boorishness which provoked the contemptuous or unfriendly comments of those who witnessed it. It was even more offensive that, when he did relax his habitual

coldness and asperity, it was in favour not of the English nobles and statesmen and soldiers who had invited him to the country, and had placed him on the throne, but of a small set of foreigners whom he had brought over with him. He not only suffered a few Dutch favourites to monopolize his civility and friendship, but he lavished on them titles, lucrative offices, and grants of such enormous value that Parliament more than once interfered and compelled him to recall them, and, in the Act of Settlement, guarded against a similar bestowal of important posts on foreigners in future, by a provision that no alien, even though he might have been naturalized, should be admissible to the Privy Council nor to Parliament, or should be capable of being appointed to any place of trust. It must be added that the English nobles, who saw these men thus preferred before them, could not fail to perceive at the same time that they were in no way distinguished by any remarkable ability; in fact, that they had no recommendation whatever but their foreign blood, which might rather be considered a disqualification for posts in an English court.

Equally conspicuous was the King's preference for Holland as a residence. It was to no purpose that the English climate and the English scenery was far superior to the misty atmosphere and low unvaried plains which Dutch industry has, indeed, converted from barren, pestilential swamps into fertile pastures, but which no ingenuity can render attractive to the eye. William took no pains to dissemble his preference for his native land. England he regarded as a place of exile, Holland as his home, and this preference, however intelligible and in some degree excusable, if the influence on the mind of early associations be

remembered, was regarded with discontent, if not with indignation, by his English subjects. They considered that they had raised him from the rank of a petty prince to that of a great king, and that such a service deserved a return of gratitude and affection, which he was so far from showing, that it rather seemed as if he desired to mark to all the world, and especially to them, that, though King of England, he had no portion of English manners, English tastes, or English feelings.

Nor were the causes of complaint confined to such matters as these; on more than one occasion he showed that his disposition was quite as arbitrary and impatient of control as that of the King whom he had displaced. He reproved the Houses of Parliament in a tone as lordly as Charles I. He repeatedly withheld the Royal assent from measures which they had passed by large majorities; towards the end of his reign he nearly quarrelled with them on a subject akin to that which had been one of their most serious grounds of complaint against James. James, in spite of the vote of Parliament, had persisted as long as he could in keeping up an army on a footing which the suppression of Monmouth's rebellion had rendered unnecessary. And in like manner William, after the peace of Ryswick, showed himself so obstinately resolved on retaining a force which the Houses regarded as needless, and on making a part of it consist of foreign regiments, that he even threatened to abdicate the Government rather than abandon his intention, and could with difficulty be persuaded to renounce an idea so ruinous to his reputation.

One portion of his new kingdoms had a still deeper ground of dissatisfaction. Though Scotland was as yet so little considered that Scotch disquietudes and grievances had



no weight in influencing the calculations of James's English advisers or of his French allies, Scotland had given no trouble to the new Government since Killiecrankie. Several, indeed, of the Highland chieftains had abstained from taking the oaths of allegiance; but, though their power over their clansmen was absolute, they had made no further active resistance. Some of them had carried on a kind of civil war with their neighbours; but such disturbances had been at all times common in the Highlands, and had no connection with politics, nor with the interests of the rival dynasties. But out of this normal state of affairs was concocted by one of William's Scotch councillors a pretext for a deed of singular atrocity. The restless spirit of the chieftains was in a great degree kept alive by their poverty; they were not only destitute of money, but they were in many instances encumbered by debt. One not unimportant means of livelihood to the smaller chieftains was the pillage of their richer neighbours, whose cattle they carried off in periodical creaghs or forays; and those who were plundered were frequent and urgent in their demands of payment in compensation. Men subject to such claims had naturally ears open to the seductions of St. Germain's; and when the Government, desirous to terminate such a state of affairs, offered pardon to every one who, before the last day of 1691, should make his submission, and take the oath of allegiance, it also resolved to distribute among the disaffected chiefs a sum of money, which, though amounting to no more than a few thousand pounds, would be sufficient to relieve them from those pecuniary embarrassments which were one principal cause of their disaffection.

The plan was wise, but it was marred by a blunder in the execution. The distribution of the money was entrusted

to the Earl of Breadalbane, a man who combined the vilest political profligacy with the most sordid covetousness ; who in turn had taken the oaths both to James and to William ; who in turn had been equally false to both ; and who was, moreover, the chief of one of the branches of the great family of the Campbells, while none of the great lords had wider claims for compensation, and were in consequence more dreaded by the lesser chieftains, than the great head of the whole family of Campbell, the Marquis of Argyll, and Lord Breadalbane himself. Among those pre-eminently obnoxious to the Campbells, were the different branches of the Macdonalds, and among the Macdonalds none were so hated by them as the least numerous and least powerful tribe of all, the Macdonalds of Glencoe, a valley on the borders of Argyllshire. The entire clan, including women and children, did not amount to 200 souls, a matter of moment where the wealth and importance of the chief depended on the number of his followers ; and the chief's poverty, in a country where the plunder of flocks and herds was recognized as a legitimate mode of subsistence, was of itself enough to make him a dangerous and therefore a hated neighbour. As the Campbells were Whigs, the Macdonalds, as a natural consequence, were Jacobites ; but they gradually became alarmed at the growing power of the new Government, and learnt to suspect that James was but little able, or perhaps but little disposed, to assist them.

In the course, therefore, of the last month of the year, the greater part of the chiefs who had hitherto stood aloof made their submission and took the oaths required of them ; and finally, on the 31st of December, the very last day on which, according to the proclamation, submission could be made or accepted, Macdonald of Glencoe himself repaired

to Fort William, the proper place for those in that district to appear at, and applied to have the oaths administered to him. By some extraordinary mismanagement of the Government, there was no one at the Fort qualified to administer them ; the governor, a military officer, was not in the commission of the peace, and there was no magistrate within many miles. What the governor could do he did. He gave the chief a letter to the sheriff of Argyllshire stating what had occurred, and explaining that Macdonald had offered to take the oaths within the prescribed time, and had only been prevented from completing his submission with all the legal formalities requisite by the absence of any magistrate empowered to receive it. And the sheriff, though Macdonald could not of course reach him till the new year had begun, under the circumstances consented to administer the oaths, and reported to the council at Edinburgh that he had done so. Macdonald returned home exulting in the confidence that, at whatever sacrifice of his political principles, or of, what was dearer to him, his hereditary enmity to the Campbells, he had secured the favour and protection of the Government for his clan. With all his experience, he failed to estimate the vindictiveness and treachery of those who at that moment ruled the Campbell tribes, and the unscrupulousness of the statesmen who had the chief authority at Edinburgh.

Of Breadalbane mention has already been made, and the Earl of Argyll was a man of similar disposition ; while Sir John Dalrymple, more commonly known as the Master of Stair, who had recently become the Prime Minister in Scotland, regarded the whole body of Highlanders, and the Macdonalds especially, with deadly hatred. Not that they had ever injured him personally : his father's property lay

in the southern counties, far out of the reach of their widest raids. But, having far larger views of statesmanship than any of his contemporary countrymen, he desired to establish the supremacy of legal authority, and to promote peaceful industry throughout the whole country ; and he looked on the whole Highland people as one vast band of incorrigible robbers, whose very existence was an obstacle to the improvements which he desired to see effected, and who could only be tamed into order by some terrible example. With these views, he had reckoned with exultation on the prolonged contumacy of one or two clans, as what should give him a pretext for dealing them a blow which might strike terror into the rest ; and, in anticipation of it he had issued the most ruthless orders to the Commander of the Forces in Scotland, enjoining him, if the opportunity should be afforded him, to lay waste the huge tracts of land belonging to the Camerons, the Macleans, the Macdonalds, and others, closing his letter with an injunction of atrocious significance, that the Government was not to be troubled with prisoners.

A Royal Commission, appointed some years afterwards to investigate the transaction, reported that the Master had designed a massacre of full 6,000 persons. Of this wholesale slaughter he was balked by the timely submission of all the clans except Glencoe ; and to every candid magistrate it was obvious that Glencoe's adhesion had also been given in in time. It was not the fault of the old chieftain that, when he offered to take the required oath, no one at the proper place was authorized to receive it. If, according to the letter of the proclamation, he was too late, according to its spirit he was as undoubtedly in time. But the Master of Stair cared little for the spirit when the letter of the law

was sufficient for his bloodthirsty purpose. He even, on some plea of irregularity, suppressed and cancelled the certificate in which the sheriff of Argyllshire reported that Glencoe had submitted, and then procured from William an order for the extirpation of the whole tribe. The order was signed and countersigned by the King's own hand in a manner only used when the promptest obedience was required; but it is probable that William, who was never bloodthirsty, had no very precise idea of what was intended.<sup>1</sup> His advisers, however, knew only too well, and had already prepared the means for carrying out the injunctions contained in the warrant with such cruel perfidy, that it may be questioned whether the whole history of crime has preserved a single instance of an assassination so treacherous and base.

The contrivers of the bloody deed lost no time. It had been the 6th of January when Macdonald obtained from the sheriff the certificate which both that magistrate and he himself considered as a sufficient safeguard. By the 1st of February the certificate had been discussed and suppressed, the fatal warrant had been transmitted to London, signed, and returned to Edinburgh, and the minister of blood had arrived in Glencoe. As if to increase the infamy of the transaction, the first steps to be taken in the execution of the warrant were entrusted to a connection of the principal victim. The animosities which separated clan from clan in the case of individuals had occasionally been overborne by

<sup>1</sup> Burnet, who, in spite of the report of the Commission in 1695, lays the blame more on Breadalbane than on the Master of Stair, affirms that Breadalbane (who, in the Bishop's view, must therefore still have been a Jacobite secretly) persuaded William to consent to the massacre, "that he might both gratify his own revenge, and render the King odious to all the Highlanders."—Vol. II., p. 89.

softer feelings, and a Captain Campbell of Glenlyon had married a niece of Glencoe.<sup>1</sup> Those who had planned the massacre which ensued had seen in this very tie a facility for blinding their victims.

On the 1st of February Glenlyon, with 120 soldiers, marched into the valley, and solicited the chieftain's hospitality for himself and his men. He and his band were distributed among the clansmen, and for twelve days they abode in the glen on terms of apparent friendship with their unsuspecting hosts, while they were secretly making themselves acquainted with all the passes through the mountains which might afford opportunities for escape. By the 13th it had been calculated that the passes might all be known and guarded ; and on that day it had been arranged that Glenlyon's superior officer, Colonel Hamilton, should bring 400 soldiers more to make the work sure. The night, however, proved stormy ; the roads were blocked up with snow, delaying Hamilton's march. But Glenlyon would not wait for him, as if eager to monopolize the favour which he expected the deed would secure him in the eyes of the Government. He himself had been lodged in the house of one of the chief clansmen, named Inverrigen ; he began the slaughter by murdering his host, with his whole family, even to the young children who clung to their murderer's knees, and begged in vain for mercy. His lieutenant knocked at the door of the chieftain himself, who was shot down while bringing refreshments to his supposed friendly visitors ; the assassins even proceeding to strip his wife, and to tear the rings from her dying fingers with their teeth. Almost every

<sup>1</sup> Another account says that his niece was married to Glencoe's second son. At all events there was a close connection of some kind.

dwelling in the entire glen presented a similar scene. A few, indeed, and among them a son of Glencoe himself, succeeded in escaping. But when, about mid-day, the colonel at last arrived, there was but one person left alive in the whole glen.<sup>1</sup> He was an aged man, more than seventy years old, and even the order for the destruction of the rest had exempted any person who might have arrived at that age. But, as if he were disappointed at having missed his share in the carnage, Hamilton murdered him too, and then vented his rage in burning the houses and carrying off the cattle as trophies of his triumph.

News travelled slowly in those days, and, as a general rule, Scotch affairs attracted but little attention in London. Even when, after the lapse of more than a year, the enormity of the crime began to force itself upon the attention of those in authority, and came to the ears of Mary herself, she could not at first induce William to pay much attention to it. Nor was it till the beginning of 1695 that he appointed a Royal Commission to examine into the character and details of the transaction; and even the conduct of the Commissioners, though their report was fair and honest, gave grounds for a suspicion that the Government would have concealed the whole truth, and would have screened the guilty had it been possible.

The report was reluctantly produced and laid before the Scotch Estates. And the behaviour of the Estates themselves was not such as gave a high idea of their indepen-

<sup>1</sup> Lord Macaulay seems to intimate that a large proportion of the destined victims escaped, and speaks of "about thirty corpses," as if they were all who perished. But even by his own account there must have been many more. For he expressly mentions Inverrigen and nine of his family; Auchintriater, with seven more of his family; Glencoe, his wife and two servants. These alone make twenty-two.



dence, or as befitted a body bound to be the guardians and protectors of those whom they represented. The report affirmed that a barbarous massacre had been perpetrated, but exonerated Argyll and Breadalbane from the guilt, which they charged wholly on the Master of Stair. The Estates, where the Master was justly respected as one of their ablest statesmen and most eloquent orators, feared to proceed against him, and contented themselves with passing a series of resolutions which, while it censured him, left it to the King's wisdom to deal with him in such a manner as might sufficiently vindicate the honour of his Government. And William did worst of all. One of the resolutions of the Estates had affirmed that, though William had signed the warrant under which the massacre had been committed, he had not intended that it should be executed as it had been. His conduct almost seemed as if he designed to prove that he had so intended it. He did indeed dismiss the Master from his office, but he took many occasions to show that he had in no degree lost his confidence, and he thus gave the Jacobites but too plausible grounds for contending that he had fully consented to the bloody deed before, and that he did not in his heart condemn it after its execution.

In whatever degree these errors of the King tended to encourage the hopes and projects of his enemies, from the very moment that he and Mary accepted the Crown plots were continually set on foot to deprive them of it, and, though it cannot be said that any one of them was ever near succeeding, they derived additional importance from the part taken by James himself, who so degraded his royal blood as to countenance the worst of them in all its worst details ; and they were evidently so many dangers to the



Revolution. Nor can it be regarded as having been rendered thoroughly secure till the last treason was laid bare to the world, and till the last traitor had expiated his guilt upon the scaffold.

The first conspiracy was formed, and in part detected, even before William sailed for Ireland to open the campaign of the Boyne. The conspirators were a miscellaneous band, the chiefs of which were Lord Preston, Bishop Turner, Lord Dartmouth, and Lord Clarendon. Lord Preston was a Scotch peer, who had been Secretary of State during the last months of James's reign, and was still considered by the Jacobites as possessed of that official authority; Bishop Turner had been one of the seven bishops prosecuted by James, but had been too scrupulous to take the oath of allegiance to William, and had consequently, as a nonjuror, been deprived of the Bishopric of Ely; Lord Clarendon, after many waverings and shiftings (in the course of which he had bewailed his son's desertion of James, then had himself joined William, and before the end of the same year had tried to induce the Princess Anne to set up her claims and those of her children in opposition to him), had also at last refused the oath of allegiance, and had kept up a correspondence with James; and Lord Dartmouth, as if he had repented his refusal to convey the young Prince of Wales to France, had pursued the same line of conduct.

All these men had been in constant communication with the exiled family from the very beginning of 1689; and in the spring of 1690, while James was still in Ireland, it became known to the Government that some messengers from Mary would shortly bring important despatches to some of the chief Jacobites in England. If the Jacobites

had been capable of taking warning, or of learning common prudence, the history of this conspiracy might have deterred them from engaging in any other. Two messengers were employed, and one betrayed the other ; when that other had been convicted and sentenced to death, he saved his life by revealing as much of the plots and of the plotters as he knew ; and, finally, when the chief conspirator himself had been convicted, he, too, followed the example of the lesser traitors, and earned a pardon by a full revelation, in which he apparently did not limit his denunciations to those who were really guilty.

The messengers, two men named Fuller and Crone, before they quitted France for England, received their instructions and despatches from Mary of Modena herself. Fuller, who had pretended to embark in the conspiracy merely to betray it, delivered to William the letters addressed to the conspirators, and gave information which led to the discovery and arrest of Crone. Before he could be brought to trial, William himself was compelled to cross over to Ireland. But the Queen, with the aid of the Council whom he had appointed to assist her, was equal to the crisis. Crone, when convicted, implored an interview with the Secretary of State, and Lord Nottingham's unyielding firmness convinced him that his only hope of safety lay in making a full confession. It proved of great importance ; for, all through the month in which William sailed, the gallant French Admiral, the Count Tourville, was cruising up and down the Channel. On the last day of the month, as has been already mentioned, he drove Torrington before him, and all along the southern coast he found agents prepared to supply him with information. One of them, however, a Sussex innkeeper named Cross, was detected and hanged, and his fate made his

accomplices cautious ; while a day or two afterwards a still greater dismay was spread among the whole Jacobite party by the intelligence of the defeat of the Boyne and James's ignominious flight. And, in the end, Tourville returned to his own harbours, having achieved nothing more than a descent on the Devonshire coast, in which he had burnt Teignmouth, and committed such outrages and cruelties as aroused the whole population against the detachment of troops which had landed, and which had great difficulty in regaining the ships.

But in spite of this failure the plans which had been formed seemed too promising to be readily given up. The testimony of Fuller and Crone had not appeared to the Council sufficient to warrant the arrest of the principal conspirators who were still at large. And before the end of the year his adherents were more diligent than ever in their invitations to James to invade the kingdom with the aid of a French army in the ensuing spring. It is remarkable that their zeal in the cause had not blinded them to the difficulties of the undertaking ; neither to those which would proceed from the national spirit which was sure to be roused by the mere sight of foreign uniforms, nor to those which might be expected to arise from the disposition and conduct of James himself. And they did not shrink from giving him good advice, however unpalatable it might prove. They told him plainly that it would be indispensable for him to give the English people sufficient assurance of his resolution to protect the Established Church, to govern in all points with strict adherence to the established laws, and to guide himself in all matters by the counsels of his Parliament. And they even urged him to induce his ally, Louis, to relax the rigour of his edicts against Protestantism. For, so unyield-

ing was Louis's bigotry, that even the Protestant adherents of James who had followed him into exile were prohibited from practising the rites of their religion in their new country. And this intelligence had produced, even among some of the Jacobites themselves, an impression which it was most desirable to remove.

A memorial embodying these suggestions was carefully drawn ; and, with numerous letters from Clarendon, Bishop Turner, and others ; and with other documents giving minute information as to the state of the fleet, of the harbours, and the strength of the different garrisons, was confided to Lord Preston, who with a Mr. Ashton, who had been clerk of the closet to Mary of Modena, and a young man named Elliot, undertook to convey them to St. Germain's. Under the pretence of smuggling, a vocation long popular on every part of the coast, they hired a vessel in which they proposed to cross from London to Calais. But the captain divined the character of his employers ; and in the belief that to betray them would be more profitable than to serve them, sent information of the engagement into which he had entered to the President of the Council. The ship was allowed to sail, but, when it was near the mouth of the Thames, was overtaken and boarded by Government officers. Preston, Ashton, and Elliot were all seized, with the papers entrusted to their care ; and before the end of January (they had been seized on the last day of December, 1690), Preston and Ashton were brought to trial. Elliot was released with a contemptuous mercy, which, however praiseworthy, would certainly not have been shown in the last reign. There was no difficulty in establishing the guilt of the prisoners. Both were convicted, and Ashton was immediately executed ; but Lord Preston was

allowed to save his life by revealing all the ramifications of the conspiracy. William himself was never bloodthirsty. And among his chief advisers and supporters many had family connections with some of the Jacobite party, and sympathy with their persons, if not with their designs. It was therefore not unnaturally desired by all rather to prevent future plots than to punish past conspiracies with more severity than was actually indispensable. Even Lord Clarendon and Lord Dartmouth, who were more deeply implicated by Preston's revelations than any other nobles, received no further punishment than that of a short imprisonment, and the escape of Bishop Turner to France was probably connived at.

The Bishop's treason, however, had an unfavourable influence on the fortunes of some who had had no connection with it. The other nonjuring Bishops, though deprived of their sees, had hitherto been allowed to retain their palaces and revenues. No successors had been appointed; and, by the order of Mary herself, while William was absent from England, proposals had been made to them that the Government would be willing to procure the passing of an Act of Parliament to excuse them from taking the oaths, if they on their parts would resume their functions, and take their proper share in the conduct of public worship. Apparently from an unwillingness to pray for the King and Queen, they refused to give a satisfactory answer. But still the Government, with rare forbearance, had abstained from ejecting them from their palaces, till the discovery that one of the number had profited by the indulgence thus shown to him to plot against those who had been thus merciful, created doubts whether a continuance of that forbearance could be justified. Their places were at

last filled up, and they were now compelled to cede their dwellings and estates to successors, who, with equal learning and piety, had no scruples as to the duty of conforming to the existing Government.

Yet, in spite of the irresistible indications of the general feeling of the English nation which had been supplied by the fate of this conspiracy, the year did not pass away without another plot being formed to overthrow the new Government: a plot which was far more formidable than the last, since it was devised by a man of rare and almost universal ability in public affairs, who had actually been one of the Queen's Council during William's absence in Ireland, and who had suggested and executed some of the operations which had contributed to the downfall of James's fortunes in that country.

The Earl of Marlborough had no reason to complain that his talents or his services were not appreciated by his new master; but he was discontented, it may be believed, at seeing that others of far inferior talents stood yet higher in William's favour solely because they were Dutchmen. His great capacity had in it the alloy of one meanness which is rarely found in combination with such bravery and sagacity. He was insatiably covetous, and with even more indignation than he saw military command bestowed on the unworthy Solmes, did he behold lucrative offices and vast estates lavished on Bentinck, and Auverquerque, and Ginkell. A jealousy of the Dutch was a feeling in which he was sure of the sympathy of the great majority of the people; and he began to desire a Sovereign who, if devoid of William's courage and wisdom, should by those very deficiencies be the more compelled to rely on and to reward his own talents and exertions. With these views

he formed a plan of rare subtlety. He was far too shrewd to believe that he should have a better chance of engrossing the favour of James than he had of becoming the chief object of William's confidence and liberality. But his Countess had already established a paramount influence over the Princess Anne. His scheme, therefore, was to use the aid of those who desired the restoration of James, to overthrow the Government of William, and then to avail himself of the Protestant feeling of the whole kingdom to replace him not by James but by Anne.<sup>1</sup>

It is difficult to say how far a fresh revolution of this character would have affected the maintenance of the principles on which the late Revolution had been founded. It would certainly have greatly changed the course of affairs both here and on the Continent during the next few years. And it might very possibly have led to a different arrangement of the succession to the Crown. Marlborough was too sagacious to embark in ordinary treasons, the execution of which required the concurrence of accomplices who might betray him. He would put himself in no man's power. But he thought to effect his object by means which should be strictly within the law : by the agency of the Parliament, and by the prejudices and irritation of William himself. The King's undisguised and exclusive preference for his Dutch followers had already excited such general dissatisfaction, that the Earl foresaw that it would be easy to carry

<sup>1</sup> I have adopted Lord Macaulay's view of Marlborough's real object in the communications which he now opened with St. Germain, because it is inconceivable that the Jacobites could have had any other reason for betraying him to William; because it is also supported by the manner in which Anne herself was treated; and because it is strongly confirmed even by that passage in James's autobiographical memoirs in which he condemns those who betrayed the Earl to Bentinck for their indiscretion.



through both Houses of Parliament addresses requesting the dismissal of all foreigners from the service of the State. That William would refuse to comply with such a request he had no doubt, and as little that his refusal would cost him his throne. He thought it not impossible that he would at once abdicate the sovereignty; and in that case he expected that Mary would refuse to separate her fortunes from his and to remain in England as Queen, and that thus the throne would again become vacant. He thought it equally likely that William might reject the petition with disdain, and defy the Houses. But he felt confident that such a course in such a cause would irritate the whole nation, and he reckoned that he himself should then have a plausible ground for openly declaring his opposition to the King's policy, and for calling on the army to rally round him in defence of the Parliament. If the regiments in England answered his call, of which he had no doubt, their union with the Houses would make William's continuance on the throne impossible. So that, whichever alternative William might adopt, the carrying of the proposed addresses must lead to a fresh revolution; while that the Houses would prefer Anne to James as William's successor was, in Marlborough's opinion, even more certain.

The scheme was craftily laid, but it was nipped in the bud. The Jacobites were naturally indisposed to place any great confidence in the Earl, and some of the most wary of the party made such a discovery, or conceived such suspicions of his real design, that they revealed it to Lord Portland. William was alarmed and incensed. He had no means of punishing his enemy, since his machinations were to be carried out by the constitutional agency of a Parliamentary vote; nor, had they come under any legal



definition of treason, would it have been easy to obtain legal evidence of their nature. But he at once dismissed the Earl from all his commands and offices, and after a short time Lady Marlborough, who held the chief post in the establishment of the Princess Anne, was commanded also to leave the Palace. It is a striking proof of the absolute sway that she had already established over the mind of the Princess, that though Mary detailed to her sister the just reasons which she and the King had for being offended with Marlborough, reasons in which it was the Princess's duty to sympathize, Anne still refused to part with the Countess, and preferred giving up her own residence at Whitehall, and living in hired or borrowed houses to separating herself for a single day from her imperious favourite.

James disapproved the act of his adherents in disclosing Marlborough's intrigues to William, as one of impolitic indiscretion.<sup>1</sup> He would probably have hoped to be able to turn Marlborough's acts against himself, and after William had been got rid of, would have relied on Anne's affection or weakness for his own restoration. But the deed was past remedy. He now could only trust to the success of Louis's army in Flanders ; and, when it was found that none of the French triumphs were followed by any political results, but that William after, and in spite of, his disasters was as strong as ever both in the field and in the affections of the great majority of the English nation, he had once more recourse to conspiracies, and, becoming

<sup>1</sup> "Quelques fidèles sujets indiscrets, croyant me servir, et s'imaginant que ce que Milord Churchill faisait n'était pas pour moi mais pour la Princesse de Danemarck, eurent l'imprudence de découvrir le tout à Bentinck, et détournèrent ainsi le coup."—James's own statement, quoted by Macaulay (vol. II., p. 166).

more desperate, he now openly countenanced projects of assassination.

Louvois, the great War Minister of Louis, a man as hard-hearted and unscrupulous as he was able, had died in the spring of 1692 ; but, shortly before his death, he had contrived a plot for the assassination of the King, who at the French Court was still described only as the Prince of Orange. And his son, the Marquis of Barbesieux, who succeeded him in his office, inherited and adopted also his enmity to England and to William. An officer named Grandval, of previously fair character, but so blinded by bigotry that he thought any crime excusable which might serve the interests of Popery, undertook the deed with the aid of two accomplices whom he believed that he could trust. But he himself was too imprudent and talkative for a conspirator, and both his accomplices betrayed him. He hoped to find an opportunity of striking the contemplated blow while William was engaged in the attempt to relieve Namur ; and he did not want encouragement from people even higher in rank than Barbesieux. Before he quitted Paris for the Netherlands he was presented to James himself and to his Queen ; and James assured him of abundant recompense if he succeeded in his enterprise. But before he reached the frontier, full and precise information of his appearance and design had been conveyed to William, and, as soon as Grandval entered the Netherlands, he was arrested. He was brought to trial before a court-martial ; but there was no need of a protracted inquiry, for he confessed the whole charge. He was executed with all the horrible additions to death which the cruel ingenuity of former ages had devised for traitors ; and his confession was translated into several languages and circulated over the whole Continent. No attempt was made

even by the French Ministers to deny the statements which it contained ; and Louis even seemed to identify himself with the crime that had been intended, since he in no respect withdrew his favour from Barbesieux, whom Grandval had declared to have been his tempter.

Yet his terrible fate did not deter others following in his steps, though, as a single assassin had failed, the next time that an assassination plot was set on foot, it was thought safer to employ a band strong enough to execute their purpose by main force if a secret attack should prove impracticable. But no fresh plot of the kind was formed immediately. The Jacobites had begun to doubt whether the removal of William by himself would serve their purpose. It was even highly probable, as Mary was far more popular than he, that it might strengthen her hold on the affections of the people ; and that afterwards to overthrow the new throne when she was its sole occupant, might prove a harder task than while she shared it with him.

But in the winter of 1694 the amiable and much-beloved Queen died of the small-pox, and she was hardly in her grave before the English Jacobites began to meet again, to conspire and to concert with James and his advisers fresh schemes for his restoration. For a while they were weakened by internal divisions. One section of the party, which a little before Mary's death came to be distinguished by the name of Compounders, coupling all their proposals of new measures with conditions that James, if restored, should grant a general amnesty, and give satisfactory guarantees for the future security of the privileges and liberties of the people, and of the civil and ecclesiastical constitution as established by the Bill of Rights ; while the

other section, known as Non-compounders, taking their stand on James's divine and indefeasible right to the throne, denied the existence of any power to impose conditions on his restoration, and affirmed that it belonged to him alone to decide whom he would pardon, whom he would send to the scaffold, and under what constitution or system he would govern.

James himself agreed entirely with the Non-compounders. In 1692, while waiting with his army at La Hogue for Tourville's victory to open the way for his invasion of the kingdom, he had, as has been already mentioned, published a declaration breathing nothing but vengeance against all to whom he ascribed the least share in his original overthrow, or in the continuance of his exile. And he made no secret of his resolution, if he were restored, that a majority of his Ministers, of his officers of the household, and of the officers of the army should always be Roman Catholics, in spite of any enactments which the Houses of Parliament might pass.

But the remonstrances of the Compounders against the line of conduct which he adopted were so incessant and so plain-spoken, that, though they produced no change in his own notions, they made a great impression on his French ally. Louis was not without means of obtaining a tolerably correct knowledge of the feelings of the English nation, and had reluctantly come to the conclusion that, unless James should make the concessions recommended by the Compounders, his restoration was impossible. He was also well aware how greatly the resources of his own subjects were exhausted by the war; and he had no inclination to continue it for an unattainable object. He therefore advised compliance with the recommendations

of the Compounders as the condition of his further co-operation ; and James, unable to dispense with his support, yielded, or pretended to yield ; invited over to St. Germain the Earl of Middleton, one of the leaders of the compounding party, who had been a Minister in England under Charles II., and made him joint Secretary of State with Lord Melfort.

It would have been a wise act had he given his new Minister his confidence, for Middleton was able, energetic, of fair character, and was not only possessed of considerable influence over the avowed Jacobites of both sections, but was also well acquainted with men like Marlborough, Russell, and others, who gave him constant assurances of their secret goodwill to his master. But in fact Middleton never obtained his confidence for a single moment. One proposal which he brought from the chiefs of the Compounders, that James should abdicate the throne in favour of his son, and allow the child to be bred up as a Protestant, was at once rejected with indignation. And, though he did eventually prevail upon James to adopt their advice in another matter, and to issue a new Declaration, containing a promise of an amnesty and of adherence to the established Constitution, James's signature to it was affixed in deliberate treachery. Melfort was still the Minister whom he really trusted ; and, while Middleton was encouraging his friends in England with the intelligence that he had at last brought him over to moderate counsels, Melfort was writing to Rome that the Declaration was but a blind, intended solely "to get James back to England, as he should be able to settle the affairs of the Catholics far better at Whitehall than at St. Germain."

<sup>1</sup> Enfin, celle-ci (j'entends la Déclaration) n'est que pour rentrer ; et l'on peut beaucoup mieux disputer des affaires des Catholiques à Whythall

The Declaration, however, which was published in April, 1693, did James no service in England, if it did not even do him injury. The Whigs, and even the waverers among those who submitted to William, disbelieved his sincerity; while many of his partisans were offended at a clause in the Declaration which promised to maintain the settlement in Ireland. But Middleton, who had no suspicion of the disingenuousness with which he was treated, was unwearied in his exertions in his cause, labouring chiefly to persuade Louis at once to invade England with 30,000 men, or a still larger army if possible, as a step which would serve his own interests as well as the interests of James, by tending to break up the coalition against France of which William was the author.<sup>1</sup> His arguments were probably weakened in the eyes of Louis and his advisers by statements of the contempt in which William was held, which the French Government knew to be unfounded; and they were completely overturned by the battle of Neerwinden, which occurred only a fortnight after the memorial embodying the scheme of invasion and the reasons for it was presented to Louis; and which, in spite of the decisive character of Luxemburg's victory, left the victorious army in no condition to follow up its advantage, and Neerwinden, as we have already seen, was the last success that attended the French armies in Flanders.

It was plain, therefore, that a fresh conspiracy was all that James had to trust to, and the grave had hardly closed over Queen Mary before the murderous plots were renewed.

qu'à St.-Germain's."—Melfort's letter, in the Appendix to M. Mazure's History, quoted by Macaulay, vol. IV., p. 395.

<sup>1</sup> The date of the memorial in which Middleton urged this, and which is printed by Macpherson (I. p. 447), is July 14, 1693. Neerwinden was fought July 29.

The first was organized by Robert Charnock, who had formerly been a fellow of Magdalen College, Oxford, and had since received a captain's commission from James ; his accomplices were Sir William Parkyns, a wealthy lawyer, with some men of notoriously bad character, of whom the most active were Porter, a man who had been convicted of manslaughter, and was suspected of still worse actions ; and Goodman, who had been a forger and a highwayman, and had even been found guilty of an attempt at assassination by means of poison ; and Charnock hoped also to obtain the co-operation of Sir John Fenwick, a man of high connections and great influence in the northern counties, and so fanatical in his Jacobitism that he had formerly not scrupled to insult Queen Mary herself. They professed not to contemplate the assassination of William, but to content themselves with seizing him and conveying him to France ; though it was so obvious that such an exploit was impossible, and that the conspirators could intend nothing short of William's death, that Fenwick refused to be connected with their plot, though his conscience did not forbid him to keep their secret. They were unable, however, to carry out their purpose as soon as they had intended ; they laid it before James, for his approval, which he at first forbore to express, hoping apparently that they would act without it, and flattering himself with Jesuitical casuistry that his silence would exonerate him from guilt. But, while they were waiting, William quitted England to resume the command of the army in Flanders, and they had leisure to mature and expand the plot before his return.

William returned in October, to find himself more popular than he ever had been. The nation sympathized with him in his deep sorrow for the loss of the Queen ; they exulted



with him with at least equal fervour in the glory of the splendid recapture of Namur. He made a progress through the midland counties, visiting Cambridge and Oxford, and many other chief towns and cities, and the houses of several of the greatest nobles of the kingdom. Everywhere he was received with an enthusiastic welcome, and London was illuminated with unprecedented splendour on the day on which he re-entered it. He dissolved the Parliament, and the electors were almost everywhere favourable to the Whigs, and to the resolute supporters of the new dynasty.

The Jacobites of rank could not blind themselves to the general feeling. Those who had much to lose became very cautious. But Charnock and his accomplices at once revived their plots, and by this time they had secured the full sanction of James,<sup>1</sup> who at the beginning of 1696 sent the Duke of Berwick himself over to London to endeavour to concert measures with his friends in England. There were now two plots ; or rather the original plot was divided into two parts ; one part of it contemplated assassination without disguise, the other part embraced an insurrection of Jacobites in England, to be supported by an invasion from France. The details of the latter, which, as a matter of course, depended mainly on the success of the former, were entrusted to Berwick, but he found an insurmountable difficulty in completing the arrangements ; the Jacobites absolutely refused to rise till a French army had effected a landing in the kingdom ;<sup>2</sup> while Louis, though willing enough

<sup>1</sup> Le Roi Jacques avait sous main concerté un soulèvement en Angleterre, où il avait fait passer nombre d'officiers.—BERWICK, vol. I., p. 142.

<sup>2</sup> Le Roi très Chrétien consentait volontiers à le fournir [un corps de troupes], mais il insistait qu'avant de faire l'embarquement les Anglais prissent les armes. . . . Ils demeurèrent fermes à vouloir



to furnish an army, required that before he embarked a single soldier, the insurrection should have been begun in England. Unable to induce either Louis or the Jacobites to recede from their demand, Berwick returned to France, to tell his father that the design of invasion must be laid aside, at least till it should be seen what aspect affairs would assume after William's death, and of that he expected that a few days would bring the intelligence.

That part of the plot which comprised the King's assassination had been entrusted by James to a man of greater consideration, and one more habituated to danger than Charnock or Parkyns. Sir George Barclay was an old soldier who had served under Dundee. He received instructions from James himself, and, in the course of January, crossed over to London, bearing tokens to enable Charnock and the rest to recognize him, and he was followed at intervals by other officers and soldiers who had been in James's body-guard since Killiecrankie and Aghrim, and who could be thoroughly depended on. About twenty came in this way over from France. Charnock and Parkyns undertook to provide twenty more.

And after discussing several modes of proceeding it was at last determined to attack William as he returned from hunting. Every Saturday he went from Kensington to Richmond for that purpose, crossing the Thames by a ferry at Turnham Green ; and, as his military escort was usually small, it was expected that Barclay and his band would find it easy to overpower them. The day fixed was the 13th of February. The plan was well laid ; so well, indeed, that had the murderers been commonly cautious, and at the same

qu'avant de se soulever le Roi d'Angleterre (James) mît pied à terre avec une armée.—BERWICK, *Mem.* vol. I., pp. 143-4.

time true to one another, it could hardly have failed. But they were neither cautious nor faithful. Porter invited the co-operation of a gentleman named Pendergrass, whom he conceived that he had laid under obligations; but Pendergrass, though a Roman Catholic and a keen Jacobite, recoiled from so base a crime, and at once gave warning to Lord Portland. He was not the first to reveal what was in preparation. One of those who, at first, had willingly engaged in the plot, a man named Fisher, had found his heart fail him as the day of action approached, and he had already told Portland a similar story. His character was too bad for his tale to obtain much attention, but Portland could not disbelieve Pendergrass, and, though not without difficulty, persuaded William to give up his stag-hunt for the day. His change of purpose did not awaken the suspicion of the conspirators, for the day was stormy; they fearlessly postponed the attack till that day week, and, before that day arrived, other informers confirmed the story, and the Government was even put in possession of all the details of the conspiracy, and of the names and abodes or hiding-places of the chief conspirators.

The popularity of which William had received such tokens in the autumn had not yet passed away; and it was increased for the moment by the detestation of assassination which has always been so marked a characteristic of the English people. Barclay unluckily escaped, but in the course of a few days all the rest of the conspirators were arrested. And William went down in state to Parliament, to make a formal announcement to both the Houses of the danger from which Providence had preserved himself, and also of the risk of foreign invasion to which the kingdom was still exposed. Such a statement appealed to the feelings of every English-

man ; and united all hearts in his favour. The Houses unanimously voted loyal addresses of congratulation, and passed one bill to suspend the Habeas Corpus Act, and another to provide for their own continuance in the event of the King's death ; since it was obvious that one of the objects aimed at by his murder was to take advantage of the confusion and anarchy which, without some precautionary measure of this kind, such a sudden calamity might be expected to create. And these measures were crowned by a vote for the drawing up of an instrument by which the members of both Houses should form themselves into an Association, owning William for their rightful and lawful King ; binding themselves to adhere to him against King James and the pretended Prince of Wales ; and engaging to maintain the Act of Succession, and, in the event of his murder, to revenge his death on all who should be concerned in it.

A warm debate arose : some members, professing an extreme scrupulousness, objected to the unscriptural feeling implied in the word revenge, till their scruples were pacified by the production of a similar document framed and signed in the reign of Elizabeth. But a keener discussion arose on another point, which is worth recording as a specimen of the strange cavils by which even those who had no scruples about obeying William were accustomed to permit themselves to be deluded, and of the real and great difficulties with which William was embarrassed throughout his whole reign. Lord Nottingham had served William as Secretary of State for four years ; yet he now objected to a deed in which he was described as the rightful and lawful King, on the ground that those terms could only be applied to a prince who had inherited the Crown by legal descent. He had no difficulty in recognizing him as King, nor in promising

to obey him faithfully ; but call him rightful and lawful King he would not, though nothing could be plainer than that to give allegiance and loyal obedience to one who was not a lawful King was, on his own principles, a crime against some one else who had the lawful right which he denied to William ; for that, in a Monarchy, some one must be a lawful King was undeniable. Yet, childish as such a cavil was, it influenced so many that the Lords remodelled the phrase, though the alteration which they adopted seems to an ordinary apprehension stronger than the original expression.

The bond of Association, as finally settled, affirmed that William had by law the right to the Crown, and that neither King James nor the pretended Prince of Wales had any right whatever. And in this form it was eagerly signed by a vast majority of both Houses. Eighty obstinate Tories in the Lower House, and fifteen in the Upper, were all who could be induced to withhold their signatures, and the acceptance of the deed was not confined to the two Houses, it was sent over the whole kingdom, and was signed with enthusiastic unanimity by all classes, the exceptions being so few as only to make the general assent more striking. It was even transmitted to the colonies ; and to foreign cities wherever British subjects had settled in any considerable number ; and it met with an equally warm reception from the English merchants at Genoa, from the planters at Barbadoes, and from the thriving community which dwelt on the eastern shores of North America, and which was increasing with a rapidity which already gave some indications of its future greatness.

Among the classes on which the defence of the country more especially depended, equal enthusiasm prevailed. The militia hastened to take arms. The seamen thronged to

enter the naval service in such numbers that, by the middle of the week, Russell was able to put to sea at the head of one large well-manned fleet, while a second was ready to sail. And along all the main roads, and in every country village, the utmost anxiety was shown to secure those of the conspirators who had escaped from London, and who, it was supposed, might be seeking hiding-places in the provincial districts.

As has been already mentioned, all except Barclay were soon taken ; and as punishment makes the greater impression the more immediately it is inflicted, they were brought to trial without delay. They were prosecuted in batches, and it is remarkable that they were not all tried according to the same mode of procedure. In the preceding year, a bill had been passed which introduced some merciful alterations in the conduct of trials for high treason ; and especially provided that those accused of such a crime might have legal assistance, which had hitherto been denied to persons in that condition. The Act was to come into operation on the 25th of March, in this year. But Charnock and two others, King and Keyes, who were included with him in the first indictment that was preferred, were put to the bar on the 11th. They earnestly demanded, either that the Act should be anticipated, by allowing them the aid of counsel a fortnight before the time ; or that the trial should be postponed. The judges refused the application ; and it does not seem easy to justify the refusal. But no aid of counsel could have availed the prisoners ; some of their accomplices, and among them Porter himself, one of the first contrivers of the plot, had turned King's evidence, and the proof of everything charged against them was irresistible. They were convicted and executed. Sir William

Parkyns and Sir John Friend came next ; they met the same fate. But the third batch, Lockwood, Cranbourne, and Colonel Lowick, were not brought before the Court till the 25th had passed. They therefore were defended by a lawyer of eminent skill ; but no exertions of his could weaken, much less disprove, the charge ; they too were convicted and hanged ; and the Government, with rare moderation, contented itself with these examples. Of the rest, some were banished, some imprisoned for short periods ; some, confessing their guilt, were pardoned.

There was indeed one other victim, a man of far higher position, whose fate caused far greater excitement ; and is memorable as being the last instance in our history of the Parliament interfering to destroy one whom the ordinary laws could not reach. Sir John Fenwick was a man of considerable importance in the northern counties ; he was highly connected, being married to a sister of the Earl of Carlisle, and he was a soldier of experience and reputation. His return for the county of Northumberland, in James's Parliament of 1685, had been celebrated by the Court party as a triumph over the Whigs ; since the establishment of the new dynasty, he had ostentatiously identified himself with the Jacobite party, had refused to take the oaths to the new Sovereigns, and had even made himself conspicuous by personal insolence to Mary, refusing to take off his hat as she passed, and coarsely staring in her face in the Park in London.

It was therefore natural that the contrivers of the different plots for the restoration of James should apply to him for co-operation ; and, accordingly, Charnock had opened to him the details of his conspiracy. According to his own statement, which was probably true, and which Burnet evi-

dently believed,<sup>1</sup> though he cordially approved of James's projected invasion, he recoiled with horror from the design of assassination; even threatening the conspirators to reveal their plan to the Government, if they did not abandon that portion of it. But, as the Bishop truly remarks, he was too easy of belief that they had abandoned it, and kept their communications secret; so that when those of the conspirators who gave evidence for the Crown included him in the number of those who had been privy to the plot, the Government had no reason to suspect that his complicity in it had been partial, and offered a large reward for his apprehension. He was taken on the Kentish coast, when on the point of escaping to France; but he had the address to procure a postponement of his trial by an offer to make important revelations respecting the general views and designs of his party; and his friends employed the interval in bribing one of the only two witnesses whose testimony he had reason to fear. Goodman, for a large annuity, consented to quit the country; and there was but one witness left on whom the Crown could rely; while by the old law, which in this respect had been confirmed by the recent Act, no one accused of high treason could be convicted without his guilt had been proved by the testimony of two.

Unluckily for Fenwick, the very means by which he had hoped to save his life had roused against him the personal enmity of powerful men in both Houses of Parliament. In the confession with which, in order to gain time, he had sought to amuse the Government, he had abstained from saying a word to endanger any of his Jacobite friends, but had sought to set the King against some of the Ministers

<sup>1</sup> Hallam also, vol. III., p. 178, acquits Fenwick of being privy to the assassination plot.



themselves, and others of the Whig leaders, by affirming that they were in constant communication with the Court of St. Germain, and that it was on their support that James placed no small part of his reliance. Marlborough, Godolphin, Shrewsbury, and Russell were among those whom he thus accused; and his revelations were so far true, that undoubtedly every one of them had, in former years, allowed the emissaries of James to tamper with them; though it was also certain that they had all by this time abandoned all idea of bringing James back, and were now fast friends of the existing Government.

But the more ground they had given for the accusation, the greater indignation some of them thought it necessary to affect; in particular Russell, who was a member of the House of Commons, rose in his place to demand that Fenwick's confession should be taken into consideration. His demand was granted; and, after a brief though angry discussion, and an examination of Fenwick himself, the House voted that his statements had been false and scandalous, and intended only to create jealousies between the King and his servants, and to screen real traitors. Such a vote, though it affirmed a manifest truth, was of no great importance, and opened no way of inflicting on Fenwick any further punishment than that of committal to the Tower; but, in the somewhat tumultuous agitation which accompanied its passing, some voices raised the cry of "attainder." It was taken up by the whole body of Whigs in the House; a motion for a bill to attain Fenwick was at once made, and after a fierce debate was carried by a large majority. Two days afterwards the bill was brought in by the Crown lawyers; it was read a first time; the second reading was stoutly contested. Fenwick was permitted to appear by



counsel against it ; and the appearance of a trial was so far given to the debate that Porter was examined ; though, with an irregularity which no court of justice would have tolerated in the very worst times, the House also allowed evidence to be given of what Goodman would have been able to prove could the prosecutors have produced him, and of what he actually had proved against some of the other conspirators.

The Tory party in the House, of which nearly all the members had Jacobite leanings, fought stoutly for their friend ; and many also who were not Tories resisted a bill which seemed by implication to put every man's life at the mercy of a Parliamentary majority. But, though the majority diminished in every division, the bill was finally passed by the Commons, and sent up to the House of Lords. There it was debated with even greater vehemence. So resolute were its promoters to carry it that officers were sent about to bring up any Peer who was suspected of a design to absent himself ; and even the Bishops were compelled to vote, in spite of one of the canons of the Church which forbids divines to take any part in the infliction of capital punishment. As in the House of Commons, the majority for passing the bill diminished with every division, and the third reading was only carried by a majority of seven.

The smallness of the majority revived the hopes of his friends ; and, even after the bill was passed, great efforts were made to procure the prisoner's pardon. His wife, a member of the great family of Howard, presented one petition to the House of Lords, and threw herself at the King's feet with another, imploring that her husband's sentence might be commuted into one of perpetual banish-

ment. But William remembered that Fenwick had insulted the Queen, whom he still mourned, and was inexorable. In consideration of the mode of procedure adopted against him, and of his noble connections, Sir John was indeed complimented with the axe on Tower Hill, instead of being subjected to the indignity of the gallows at Tyburn. But that was the only favour granted him; and on the 28th of January, 1697, he was executed.

It is now universally admitted that bills of attainder are indefensible on principle. During the fierce contests of the 16th and 17th centuries they had been employed by all parties against their adversaries, sometimes to create a new offence or to affix a definite character of guilt to deeds against which the laws had made no provision; sometimes to inflict a punishment beyond that which the law sanctioned; sometimes, as in the present case, to supply a deficiency of legal evidence. Every one of these objects is clearly unjustifiable. And such a measure is also open to a still graver objection. To pass it the Houses of Parliament erect themselves into a judicial tribunal, while the accused person, on whose fate they assume to decide, is deprived of all the safeguards to which every one in such a situation is entitled. The Houses are at once prosecutors, jury, and judges; and the history of every former measure of the kind shows that as judges they were accustomed to decide under no feeling of responsibility; that they did not even make any pretence to impartiality; but permitted the introduction of arguments wholly foreign to the real merits of the case, and often diametrically opposed to admitted rules of law; and, in fact, showed themselves almost wholly and avowedly influenced by party considerations.

In the case of Fenwick, their proceeding was in one

point of view even more reprehensible than any former measure of the same character, for the object of it was to convict on the evidence of a single witness ; while in an Act which had been passed in the very same year, the old provision which made the evidence of two witnesses indispensable had been deliberately retained. The advocates for the bill contended that the requirement was absurd ; that there was no possible justification for requiring stronger proof before a man could be convicted of treason, than was sufficient to send him to the gallows for murder ; that the evidence of one man of good character was in truth far more weighty and trustworthy than the evidence of two, or of a score, of witnesses of bad character (though they could not pretend that Porter's character was other than infamous) ; that there was no moral doubt of Fenwick's guilt ; that it would be a great evil that he should escape punishment ; and that there was no other mode by which he could be reached.

It was answered that no evil could be so great as that of overbearing the securities which a law so recently passed had preserved for those who might fall under the displeasure of the Government ; and that the fact of prosecutions for treason being necessarily Government prosecutions rendered it not unreasonable that more evidence should be required in them than in actions between subject and subject. The opponents of the bill dwelt, too, on the extreme danger in which the liberties of the whole nation would be placed if Parliament should acquire a habit of erecting itself into a judicial tribunal ; and further contended that, even if it were granted that some acts of attainder might possibly be justifiable, their justification must depend on the power of the person attainted to render himself for-

midable to the Constitution or to the Government, a condition which no one could pretend to exist in the case of Fenwick. They showed, too, that all recent acts of attainder had been condemned by public opinion, since they had been unanimously reversed by subsequent Parliaments. Party spirit, as we have seen, overbore these arguments for the time; but they have been endorsed by all succeeding generations, and the blood of Fenwick is the last that has been shed by any sentence save one passed by the established courts of justice.

## CHAPTER XV.

General weariness of the war—Louis proposes Peace—The treaty of Ryswick—Subsequent occurrences of William's reign—William desires to keep on foot a large army, and to retain his Dutch regiments—The Houses annul the grants of the Irish forfeited lands—The Commons resort to a tack—The partition treaties—Charles bequeaths his dominions to the Duke d'Anjou—Impeachment and acquittal of Lord Somers—The succession to the Crown is settled on the Electress Sophia—Death of James II.—Louis proclaims the Pretender King of England—Death of William—General view of the Revolution—Character of the King and of the English statesmen of his reign—William—Halifax—Nottingham and Caermarthen—Somers and Montague—The great legislative measures of William's reign—The legislative Union with Scotland—Failure of the rebellions of 1715 and 1745 to overthrow the principles of the Revolution—Necessity of the Revolution.

DETECTED and baffled as it had been, this conspiracy had strengthened the King's Government. The baseness of the project of assassination had discredited plots and plotters, and during the rest of William's life he was never threatened by any similar danger.

Meanwhile the war was drawing to a conclusion. The combatants on both sides were nearly exhausted. The English Parliament, indeed, still granted the King unprecedented sums of money to keep on foot so large a force as had never been dreamt of in any former war. Nearly five millions of money were voted to pay 87,000 soldiers, and 40,000 sailors; and the Bank of England, a corporation

which the ingenuity of Montague had recently called into existence, provided gold and silver in advance for exportation to Flanders. But our allies were less steadfast. In the course of the winter the Duke of Savoy made peace with France, and there was too much reason to fear that his defection was but an omen of the course which other members of the coalition were prepared to follow.

But no country was so exhausted by the war as France ; and no Sovereign was so weary of it as Louis himself. He knew that the state of destitution of his country was universal and intolerable ; and, little as he regarded the sufferings of his people, so long as they could contribute to his glory, he could not conceal from himself the fact that the last campaigns had brought him disaster and discredit rather than honour. Nor could he doubt that all prospect of a counter-revolution in England had passed away, or that James was not an ally for whose sake it was worth while to make further sacrifices. He could not, indeed, make peace without some sacrifice of his pride ; for the unconditional recognition of William as King of these islands was an indispensable preliminary to any negotiation. But the necessities of the case outweighed any such consideration ; and, in the course of the winter he intimated that for the re-establishment of peace he was prepared to make that great concession. It was the first time in a reign which had already been protracted to a duration longer than that of any previous King of France, that Louis had been reduced to propose peace instead of granting it as a conqueror. But, though in the first moment of his exultation at the withdrawal of Savoy from the confederacy against him, he seemed inclined to recall his offer, he soon renewed it, and in the spring of 1697, the

plenipotentiaries of all the belligerents met at a village called Ryswick, in the neighbourhood of the Hague, to compose their differences under the mediation of the King of Sweden.

While the arrangements were entrusted to the professional diplomatists, the time was wasted in childish ceremonies, and the discussion of points of punctilio and etiquette. At last William grew weary of their indecision, and resolved to employ Portland<sup>1</sup> to negotiate with one of the French marshals, who might be expected to move by a straighter path to the desired end. Boufflers was the one whom he selected, as a straightforward soldier; and, as that officer stood high in the confidence of his own master also, when Portland wrote to him to request an interview, Louis made no difficulty in consenting. A hundred years afterwards, Nelson confessed that "seamen are but bad negotiators, for they put to issue in five minutes what diplomatic forms would be five months doing;" and soldiers (if, indeed, Portland could fairly be called a soldier) now conducted their transactions with similar unprofessional rapidity.

The matters in which our allies took the chief interest were what portion of his recent conquests Louis should retain, and what he should restore. With such questions we had nothing to do. He had conquered nothing belonging to Britain; and our armies had never attempted to cross the

<sup>1</sup> It deserves, however, to be remarked that, according to Burnet (II., 200), it was Boufflers who proposed the interviews to Portland; not Portland who proposed them to Boufflers. But in this instance I have preferred following Lord Macaulay, because a desire for a prompt unequivocal termination of the discussions is much more in accordance with the character of the straightforward King of England, than with that of Louis, who was always tricky and shuffling where he could not be insolent and overbearing. The point is, however, of no practical consequence.



French frontier. The points, therefore, which our negotiators had to discuss referred to our internal politics. It would have been derogatory to the right of Englishmen as a free people to choose their own rulers, and to the position of William himself as their chosen King, to stipulate that Louis should acknowledge him as such. The mere fact of treating with him was a sufficient recognition of his Sovereignty ; but as the war, now about to be terminated, had been brought on by Louis's efforts to effect the restoration of James, it was proper and reasonable that precautions should be taken against any renewal, direct or indirect, of such endeavours ; and on the character and extent of these precautions much discussion necessarily arose.

Each potentate desired to obtain objects which the other thought it improper or unbecoming to make matters of stipulation, though willing to admit that they were such as it was desirable to carry out. It seemed to Louis unworthy of his character for hospitality, and unseemly from his relationship to James, to give a formal promise to remove the exiled Royal family from St. Germain, or indeed to name James at all in the treaty, though Boufflers was allowed to express an informal hope that James might be induced in future to hold his court at Avignon. It seemed to William still more derogatory to his rights over his own subjects to permit Louis to require him to grant an amnesty to the Jacobites, though he had no objection that Portland should assure Boufflers in the strongest terms that he should never remember the past hostility of any one who should for the future conduct himself peaceably. But it was easy to waive any mention of these conditions, which were in fact first proposed for the sake of the dignity of the contracting Sovereigns rather than for security. And thus, between two straight-

forward men, who honestly desired to conclude the quarrel on a fair footing, everything was soon arranged.

It was curious that the only real difficulties which were made came from William's allies, who had nothing to gain and everything to lose by the continuance of the war, who were utterly unable to maintain it without his assistance, and who in fact were heavy losers by the delays which they succeeded in interposing to the signature of peace.

Spain, though neither her armies nor her fleets had gained a single advantage in the whole course of the war, demanded large concessions from France, and thus gave time for a French squadron to cross the Atlantic and sack Carthage, and for the Duke de Vendôme to take Barcelona, in Spain itself. The Emperor, by demands equally unreasonable, delayed the signature beyond the appointed day, the 21st of August, and thus provoked Louis into declaring that he would no longer consent to restore Strasburg; and that, if any further difficulties were raised, he would keep still more of his conquests. James, also, not unnaturally desirous to impede a treaty which he felt would be an insuperable bar to all his prospects of recovering his throne, sought to embarrass the negotiators by making a formal protest against the right of William to conclude a treaty on behalf of the English nation while he himself was King of England. But no one paid the least attention to his remonstrances; and the German and Spanish Ministers were presently given to understand that if they hesitated any longer to become parties to the contemplated peace, England and France would sign the treaty without waiting for them.

This firmness prevailed. On the 10th of September the treaty was signed by the plenipotentiaries of all the belligerent powers except the Emperor, and by his Minister a few

weeks afterwards. William was described in the treaty as King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland; and Louis engaged "never to trouble nor disquiet in any way whatever the King of Great Britain in the possession of the dominions which his Britannic Majesty enjoyed at that time present, giving his royal word not to assist, directly or indirectly, any of the enemies of the King of Great Britain, nor to favour in any manner any conspiracy, secret intrigue, or rebellion which might arise in England;"<sup>1</sup> and, in return, William promised to countenance no attempt to disturb the Government of France. Louis greatly disliked this stipulation, since his Government had no enemies; but William insisted on it, since his own dignity required that all such covenants should be reciprocal, and on this as on most other points Louis was forced to yield. William, on his part, consented to the omission of any mention of the desired change of James's residence; but as Louis had at one time demanded a clause to secure to Mary of Modena the payment of her jointure of fifty thousand pounds a year, which had formerly been settled on her by the English Parliament, Portland was allowed to promise the French negotiators that, if James and his court withdrew from St. Germain's to Avignon, or to any place beyond the Alps, the annuity should be paid.

On the 14th of September, Prior, the poet, who had acted as secretary to the English plenipotentiaries, arrived in London with the British copy of the treaty duly executed. The Jacobites were thrown into utter confusion, for to the last moment they had persisted in asserting that no considerations of policy would ever induce Louis to abandon the

<sup>1</sup> The words of this clause are taken from Sismondi, who adds: "This recognition of William III., and this abandonment of James II., was the sacrifice which cost most to the pride of Louis XIV."

cause of James, much less to recognize the usurpation of the Prince of Orange. But by all the rest of the kingdom his arrival was greeted with an enthusiastic joy which had perhaps hardly been exceeded except at the Restoration; and, in truth, the Treaty of Ryswick was an event that justified the general exultation, since it had finally placed the Revolution on a secure footing. The conviction of the traitors and murderers in the preceding year had given the death-blow to all internal conspiracies. The recognition of William's title by all the principal Roman Catholic powers of Europe, put an end to every idea that any one of them would ever again take arms to restore his predecessor. For though four years afterwards Louis, with his inveterate perfidy, proclaimed James's son as King, and involved his kingdom in a fresh war which brought it to the very extremity of disaster and degradation, no serious mention was ever made of the claims of the Stuarts from the hour on which the herald made his insolent proclamation at St. Germain's, till that day on which, at Utrecht, Louis agreed to refuse the Pretender leave to dwell any longer in any part of his dominions. Nor was one single operation of the war dictated by a regard for his interests.

The Revolution, therefore, was now fully completed, and placed on a firm and immovable footing. The latter years of William's life were not indeed unmarked by events of great importance, some of which caused him great disquietude and annoyance, while others testified strongly to the greatness of his and his kingdom's reputation and influence even in the eyes of his enemies. And those of each class throw almost equal light on his character, since it is not denied by his warmest admirers that the vexations which he experienced he had brought on himself by con-

duct which almost bore the appearance of a contemptuous disregard of the feelings of his new subjects.

It has been already mentioned that, even while the war lasted, the Houses of Parliament had interfered to check the prodigality with which he persisted in enriching his Dutch favourites ; and, after the peace, the people had greater leisure to investigate the details of his conduct in this respect ; while he, instead of seeking to propitiate the Houses, irritated them still further by his desire to keep on foot a large army of regular troops, and to retain among them several Dutch regiments. The inclination of the country, on the contrary, was to trust to the militia as its army. In the general view, the navy and the militia were defensive forces ; an army of regular soldiers was an aggressive force, and the unprecedented expense of the late campaigns had given the whole nation a distaste for foreign war. William's views were widely different. As a statesman he could still foresee the possibility of a renewal of the struggle with France ; and as a soldier he was well aware that a militia, with its necessarily imperfect training and experience, could be no match for the veterans whom, in such a case, the French marshals would once more bring into the field.

He might, in all probability, have been able to prevail with the Houses to allow him a regular army, which, if not as large as he could have desired, would still have been respectable, and available as a nucleus for a larger force, if an emergency should arise, if he had been contented that it should consist of British soldiers only. But his unwise persistence in endeavouring to retain his Dutch regiments defeated all his views. The Houses reminded him of the promise contained in his Declaration of 1688 to send back

all the foreign regiments which he had brought with him, as soon as he should have effected the deliverance of the country; and steadily refused to retain in the national service any but native soldiers. And it was probably in some degree to show their sense of the ungracious reluctance with which he eventually yielded that they took the strong step of annulling his grants of estates in Ireland to his favourites.

The conclusion of the war in Ireland had left an enormous quantity of land, at the lowest computation above a million and a half of English acres, which had been forfeited by the adherents of James, at the disposal of the new Government; and William, with his habitually lavish prodigality to his own countrymen, had distributed nearly the whole of it among them. Portland, and a new favourite, Keppel, who had recently been raised to the English peerage as Earl of Albemarle, obtained the largest share; while smaller estates were given to Ginkell, now Earl of Athlone, and to Rouvigny, now Earl of Galway, who, indeed, was not a Dutchman, but a French refugee. Another estate, which, however, was not carved out of the forfeited lands, had been granted to William's mistress, Elizabeth Villiers, whose husband had been created Earl of Orkney: a grant and a promotion which bore but too much resemblance to acts which many regarded as the chief disgrace of Charles II. It was not, however, denied that by the ancient Constitution, or at least the ancient custom of the kingdom, the Sovereign had a right to dispose of the Crown domains according to his pleasure. And, though in more than one instance the Houses of Parliament had passed acts for the resumption of improvident or mischievous grants, the last measure of that kind had been prompted by the covetousness of

Henry VII., who took this mode, among others, of revenging himself on the adherents of the House of York; and since his time no attempt had been made to set a limit to the right of the Sovereign to give away what was regarded as his own.

But the Irish forfeitures stood on a wholly different ground. They were so far from being looked upon as property belonging to the Crown, that, even before the end of the Irish war, a bill for applying them to the public service had been passed by the House of Commons; and though William, in order to go to Holland, prorogued the Parliament before it could go through the necessary stages in the House of Lords, in the speech with which he dismissed the Houses he promised them not to deal with the lands in question till they themselves had had an opportunity of deciding on their disposal. But when they met again other matters which seemed of more pressing necessity absorbed their attention. And William, with something of pettifogging casuistry, chose, or pretended to think, that their subsequent silence on the subject released him from his promise. The Commons refused to agree with him. He was so unwise in his petulance as to defend his grants on the pretext that he had thought himself bound to reward those who had borne a principal part in the reduction of Ireland; a plea which was manifestly untrue, for Portland had only been in Ireland a few weeks, nor had he ever held a command there; while Keppel had never been in the country at all. And the Parliament was so irritated, both by the acts and by the arguments thus put forth to justify them, that the opposition had no difficulty in carrying a resolution that whoever had advised the King to return such an answer was an enemy to his Majesty and the king-



dom ; and in persuading the Houses to pass votes annulling the grants.

These votes, though dictated by temporary irritation, became of constitutional importance, as establishing a new precedent ; for they showed so clearly that royal grants would henceforth depend for their permanence on the pleasure of Parliament that from that day no Sovereign has alienated any portion of the Crown lands by his single authority. And in the very next reign, when the transcendent services of Marlborough called for a reward, Anne was advised not to give him the royal manor of Woodstock by her own ordinance, but to invite the Parliament to settle it on him and his heirs by a formal enactment.

The discussion of this subject was remarkable for another reason also, since it afforded an example of a parliamentary manœuvre which the Commons had tried without success once before, in which they succeeded now, but which, if they had been able to establish it as a settled practice, would have annihilated the rights of the House of Peers, and have entirely subverted the Constitution. There were details in the measure for investigating the disposal of the Irish forfeitures as proposed and carried in the Commons, of which the Lords disapproved ; after the investigation was concluded, the Lords regarded some parts of the bill which revoked the grants with still greater disfavour ; and those who had the chief influence in the Commons, where during the years which immediately succeeded the Treaty of Ryswick the King's Ministers were almost powerless, believed that the Lords would amend one or both of these measures, and were determined to prevent them.

It was an admitted principle of the Constitution that the Upper House could not amend a Money Bill : they could



reject it, but they could not alter one clause or word in it. Accordingly the Commons joined, or, to use the new word invented for the occasion, they tacked the bills for appointing Commissioners to take account of the Irish forfeitures to Money Bills, the passing of which was necessary for the service of the State ; and thus left the Lords no alternative but those of either passing bills which they considered unjust, or rejecting others which were indispensable to provide for the payment of the national creditors and for the defence of the nation. The Peers resisted to the uttermost, as men who felt that the political independence of their order, and, by consequence, the whole balance of the Constitution, was at stake. They made amendments ; and though some members of the Commons were so violent and shameless as to hint a threat of hereafter "tacking" Bills of Attainder to Bills of Supply (a threat which Macaulay deservedly brands as worthy of the worst days of the French Convention), they adhered to their amendments. But the wisest of those who were most indignant at the factious conduct of the Commons, saw that the Lords must give way. The country was not with them. The people in general looked not at the mischievous principle involved in "tacking," that is in combining two bills which had no connection with one another, merely in order that the bill which was admitted to be necessary might carry with it another which was less approved ; but, being almost unanimous in the impropriety of the King's liberality to his foreign friends, were eager for any measure which might mark their opinion.

Somers and Montague, and William himself, deeply as his personal feelings were interested, allowed that it was safer for the State that both the bills should pass, than that

both should be rejected ; and, influenced by the expression of their sentiments, a number of the Peers, who had at first resisted, absented themselves from the final division. The Commons prevailed. More than once in the next reign they had recourse to the same expedient ; which indeed has never been declared, and which they would perhaps not even now consent to declare illegal. But even in the next reign it did not always succeed. It was essentially an Opposition manœuvre, and therefore could not succeed against a strong Ministry. On one memorable occasion, five years afterwards, the “Tackers,” as they were called, were beaten by a majority of above 100 votes. And the people, gradually learning in more tranquil times to appreciate the true character of the expedient, came to regard it with such disfavour that after a few years it was never again proposed, and is now almost forgotten.

Even the Partition Treaties, though a most striking evidence of the weight attached to William’s opinion, and of the accession of influence which the Revolution had brought to the nation, were not unattended with circumstances of deep mortification to him. We need not here enter into a minute examination of the treaties themselves. Charles VI. of Spain, the Sovereign of the most extensive dominions which had ever been subject to a single Crown, was at the point of death ; and, as his sons had died in their youth, his heirs could only be looked for among his nephews and his cousins, the children of his sisters or of his aunts. Of these, one was the eldest son of the King of France, but his mother, Maria Teresa, on her marriage with Louis, had formally renounced for herself and her posterity all claim to the inheritance of the Spanish

dominions ; and Louis had sworn to hold the renunciation sacred and valid. Another was the eldest son of the Emperor. A third was the son of the Elector of Bavaria, by the Infanta Margaret, a younger sister of Maria Teresa, who, like her sister, had renounced her inheritance. If the renunciations were to be held valid, the Austrian Prince, as his mother had made no such renunciation, could alone succeed to the expected vacancy. But the French, who for three-quarters of a century had made the depression of the House of Austria the chief aim of their policy, were resolved not to allow it to obtain such an increase of power as would render it a match not only for France, but for all Europe ; and the statesmen of Vienna were equally indisposed to see Spain annexed to France.

The Spanish possessions in Europe at this time comprised Spain, the Netherlands, Lombardy, Naples, and Sicily ; and to these were added some of the richest of the West Indian islands, and the still richer settlements of Mexico and Peru, on the American continent. It was evident that so vast a dominion would well bear division ; in fact, projects of dividing it had been continually discussed for some years ; and in 1668<sup>1</sup> Louis had concluded a secret treaty with the Emperor Leopold, in which a division of it had been arranged. While James was on the throne neither Sovereign thought it necessary to take the opinion of England into account ; but after the peace of Ryswick, under such a King as William, she could no longer be passed over.

And, accordingly, when at the beginning of 1698 Lord Portland was sent to Paris as Ambassador, the very first subject which the French Ministers, M. de Torcy and M. de Pomponne, were instructed to discuss with him was the

<sup>1</sup> "Mémoires de M. de Torcy," vol. I., p. 23.

arrangement of a new partition treaty. A few weeks later, Marshal Tallard, the French Ambassador in London, discussed the question with William himself, who presently crossed over to the Hague with Tallard, to take Heinsius, the Pensionary of Holland, into the arrangement. And after a negotiation which, on the part of England, was conducted by William himself, and which, perhaps in consequence, seems to have been carried on with a straightforwardness unusual in the diplomacy of that age, the first Partition Treaty was concluded in accordance with the views of William rather than with those of Louis. The Prince of Bavaria was to have Spain, the Netherlands, and the American settlements; Lombardy was to be assigned to the Emperor's second son, the Archduke Charles; and Naples, Sicily, with the small frontier province of Guipuscoa, on the Pyrenees, was to belong to the Dauphin.

Had this treaty been carried out it would have saved Europe many years of war; but unluckily it had not been signed four months when the Prince of Bavaria died. The negotiators had to begin their work over again; and it was rendered more difficult by the competitors being thus reduced to two. Again Louis was the first to invite a fresh negotiation; and, with a moderation of which he had never before shown any signs, and which testifies strongly to his sense of the power and influence of the King of England, he still declared himself willing to waive his son's claim to the Spanish throne, and to allow it to be settled on the Archduke Charles, to whom his father, the Emperor, and his elder brother were willing to cede their pretensions, on condition that Lombardy should be ceded to France. England and Holland willingly agreed to this new arrangement, the only objections to which, strange to say, came

from the Emperor whose family was to be the chief gainer by it ; not that he intended to refuse it, but because, as William said to Heinsius, "his "Ministers were people who could make up their minds to nothing."

Eventually, however, the second partition was signed without his concurrence. But, while the matter was still under discussion, the affair came to the ears of Charles of Spain himself, who, though he had long been sunk in the lowest imbecility, had sense and spirit enough left to feel indignant at the proposal to settle the question of his succession and to divide his dominions without his consent. His advisers took the matter into their own hands. The Spaniards themselves had no inclination to be annexed to France ; but it seemed possible to preserve the succession to the posterity of Maria Teresa without placing the two Crowns on one head. The Dauphin had more sons than one ; and the King of Spain was therefore urged to declare the second of these youths, Philip, Duke of Anjou, his heir, and thus to prevent the dismemberment of the Monarchy. In the summer of 1700 he signed a will to this effect, and before the end of the year he died. The possibility of the young Prince being forbidden by his grandfather to accept the inheritance thus bequeathed to him was provided for by a clause in the will which, in that event, left the kingdoms to the Archduke. But those who framed the will could hardly doubt what course would be taken at Versailles.

Louis, it was true, could not allow his grandson to become King of Spain without a deliberate violation of treaties which he himself had invited and concluded ; but he had constantly shown himself faithless and perfidious when far less was to be got by perfidy, and he was not likely to hesitate now. He at once proclaimed Philip King

of Spain, and showed a resolution to support him on his new throne, even if a recourse to arms should become necessary. The Emperor did threaten war, but William, though he would gladly have joined him, found that the English nation took too little interest in foreign politics to be inclined to engage in a fresh war in such a cause. He complained bitterly of their "incredible blindness," but felt that he had no alternative but to recognize the new King.

Nor was this the only mortification which the transaction brought upon him. The Whigs had fallen into disfavour; and, as the Tories began to obtain a preponderance in Parliament, they resolved to show their power by impeaching Lord Somers. When William crossed over to the Hague, he had taken with him blank forms to which Somers, as Chancellor, had already affixed the Great Seal; and among the articles of the impeachment which they drew up, his enemies, not unnaturally, selected this act. Such an use of the Great Seal had undoubtedly been most unconstitutional, and the Chancellor's defence, that he had done what he had done in obedience to the command of the King, was more unconstitutional still. It made the whole executive Government depend on the single will of the Sovereign. Somers, indeed, was acquitted, but it was so plain that his acquittal on this point was owing to the mismanagement of the impeachment by those who conducted it, that the trial also must have been a source of severe mortification to William.

Yet not one of all these transactions excited in any quarter the least inclination for a counter-revolution. Indeed, the Act of Settlement, which was rendered indispensable by the death of the young Duke of Gloucester, and which was passed in the summer of 1701, may, in one point of view,

be regarded as an assent to William's general views of foreign policy, since it settled the succession on the Electress Sophia in precisely the manner which he had recommended twelve years before, though, at that time, he was unable to gain a favourable reception for his recommendation.

But still more unmistakably was the feeling of the nation shown when, in the autumn of the same year, James II. died, and Louis, with even more than his usual effrontery of perfidy, recognized his son as King of England. It was a violation of the Treaty of Ryswick in its most important article. The whole nation felt it as an insult to itself; and when William recalled his ambassador from Paris, dismissed the French ambassador and prepared for war, the entire kingdom supported him with enthusiastic unanimity. At the general election, which took place in the autumn, the Tories, because they were supposed less staunch than the Whigs in their adherence to the principles of the Revolution, were almost everywhere defeated; and the new Parliament granted all the supplies for the maintenance of a force sufficient to carry on the war by land and sea that the King asked for. And on his death, which took place in the first months of the ensuing year, his successor paid the best tribute to his memory by adopting all his plans "to reduce the exorbitant power of France," as she described it in her first speech.

The Revolution, therefore, was in every sense accomplished and completed at the peace of Ryswick. And those who are proud of the power and renown, and thankful for the tranquillity and ever-increasing prosperity which is now enjoyed by the fortunate inhabitants of this kingdom, may well regard with admiring gratitude the Revolution of



1688, and the great men to whose free and bold spirit it owed its beginnings, and to whose statesmanlike moderation, steadfastness, and practical sagacity it was indebted for its final establishment and consummation. It may be true that of the leaders of the different parties in the State scarcely one can be praised unreservedly nor without considerable deductions ; but it may at the same time be said that nearly all of them in their several ways did good and statesmanlike service, and contributed to the happy completion of the great work.

The first place in merit, as in rank, belongs to William himself. In some respects it may be said that there are few men whose character, both in its strong and its weak points, lies more on the surface ; as, indeed, he was a man eminently above disguise. As a soldier, though neither as a strategist nor as a tactician endowed by nature with any high degree of ability, he was yet so distinguished by patience and indomitable fortitude that no man ever suffered less from defeats ; while, as he was ever observant and candid in his estimate both of others and of himself, he was able to derive instruction from those to whom he was opposed, and in his last campaign showed a far higher degree of military skill than had marked his earlier encounters with Luxemburg. He had not been pitted against the great Marshal Duke for three years without profiting by his lessons.

His political genius and career must be considered in two aspects. As an European statesman it is hardly possible to over-estimate his abilities or his services. Even if it be granted that his animosity to Louis had its root in some degree in personal resentment for personal injury, and the annexation of his own little principality of



Orange, we must still allow that it was beneficial to the whole Commonwealth of Europe, which stood in need of a champion to stimulate, maintain, and guide resistance to the all-devouring ambition of the French monarch, and which had, at the time, no other leader in any country to whom it could look up. And it is equally impossible to withhold our warmest admiration from the ability with which that most necessary work was performed ; from the diplomatic skill with which the coalition against France was formed, and kept together in harmonious working ; from the firmness with which obstacles were overcome, disasters and disappointments were borne, till the war was closed by a peace which for the first time humiliated Louis by compelling him to abate his pretensions and restore his conquests.

But we must also regard William as an English statesman, and as the ruler of these kingdoms ; and, in spite of the great and permanent benefits which these nations have derived from his achievements, yet it is in parts of his conduct as King of England that he appears most deficient in propriety of feeling, in sagacity, and even in plain good sense. The benefits were not all on one side. If England owed much to him, he also owed much to England ; if he had transformed her from being a paid vassal of France into a free and mighty nation, the victorious head of a mighty coalition, and had laid the foundations on which she might rise to a height of power and glory far beyond that which he himself witnessed, she had in her turn raised him from the rank of a petty Prince to that of a great King ; she had put the arms into his hands by which he accomplished his darling object, the humiliation of France. Yet not only did he never regard her or her people with affection, but he never even

took the slightest trouble to understand their feelings, much less to allow them to influence his conduct. All his goodwill was monopolized by his Dutch favourites ; on them he lavished English treasures to an amount unprecedented in the annals of royal favouritism. And in his acts of a more public character, though his enthronement was in principle the supersession of absolute tyranny by constitutionally limited authority, he nevertheless displayed, on more than one instance, as arbitrary a temper as any of his predecessors. More than once he withheld the Royal assent from measures which the Houses of Parliament had passed, and his order to Somers to furnish him with blank powers previously sealed, was the assertion of a principle which, if the complaints made of it had not prevented its being turned into a precedent, would have struck at the very root of Parliamentary Government. His sanction of the Glencoe massacre, for his mercy towards the Master of Stair was equivalent to a sanction of his bloody deed, is an offence of a deeper dye. Yet, when all these defects in his character and errors in his career are fairly contrasted with his good qualities and good deeds, it must be allowed that the latter far outweigh the former. His good qualities conferred lasting benefits, not only on these kingdoms but on Europe in general ; his faults produced but temporary vexations, and those confined to ourselves. And the verdict of posterity, which rarely errs, looking at his virtues and actions as a whole, has rightly placed him among her greatest kings.

In the chiefs of the two great English parties, who, whether Whigs or Tories, bore a leading part in these transactions, and contributed to the new settlement and to its successful working, we see a similar mixture of strength and weakness ; but still, in striking the balance between

them, we are led by the results to pronounce a judgment on the whole favourable to them. It was the exemplification of a wholly different system from that which now prevails, when William selected his first Ministry in almost equal proportions from the two parties ; but in the case of a new dynasty like his it undoubtedly tended at first to facilitate the work of Government.

We need not say much of Lord Mordaunt or the Duke of Shrewsbury, however brilliant was the genius of the one, or however attractive the disposition and manners of the other. Neither was calculated to add much strength to any party ; but Lord Halifax was surpassed by no man in the kingdom for clearness of intellect, for candour, or for fearless integrity. The position in which his brother Peers placed him as their President was deserved by his constant maintenance of the soundest Whig principles, and was at the same time a pledge to all the party that while he remained in office, those principles, the foundation of the Revolution, would not be departed from. As a Minister he was well placed in charge of the Privy Seal, an office of honour rather than of work ; for his one weakness was an indecision in action, arising apparently from an excess of acuteness coupled with a tenderness of conscience which made him fix his eyes rather on the objections to any line of conduct than on the countervailing recommendations.

The presence of the Tory leaders, Lord Caermarthen and Lord Nottingham, at the Council Board, was even more important, since it was more necessary at the moment to inspire the Tories than the Whigs with a feeling of confidence that no change of the principles of the Constitution was involved in the change of dynasty ; that the Church would be preserved with all her rights and privileges, and

all her purity of worship and observance ; and that the present deviation from the rule of hereditary succession was to be regarded as a single exception, in no degree impairing the general principle. And besides the pledge that the Revolution was thus but a firmer re-establishment of the ancient Constitution which was implied in the acceptance of office by these old statesmen of former reigns, Lord Nottingham brought to the new Government a deservedly high reputation for unflinching honesty, great acquaintance with civil and constitutional law, and considerable powers of oratory ; while Lord Caermarthen strengthened it with a practical knowledge of the whole machinery of government, and an experience in managing men out of, and still more in Parliament, in which he surpassed all his contemporaries and all his predecessors. He had one great fault from which Nottingham was free, an unsatiable covetousness, which prompted him to seek gain by corrupt and discreditable means, and which eventually led to his disgrace. But it is remarkable that these two Tory statesmen, who, by their original principles were inclined to the old rather than to the new dynasty, were almost the only men who never wavered in their allegiance to their new master, and who were never for a single moment induced by either fear or hope to lend an ear to the temptations of St. Germain's.

The ablest of all the civil servants of the Government during this reign were too young to be entitled to be ranked among the first promoters of the Revolution ; indeed, the first Parliament of which they were ever members was the Convention-Parliament, which met by William's invitation after James had fled from the country. But it was to the sound learning and unerring appreciation of constitutional principles, which were so conspicuous in Somers, that the Com-

mons chiefly trusted in framing the Declaration of Right ; it was his eloquence that won the assent of the Convention-Parliament and the whole nation to the technical validity of all its earlier acts ; it was his influence, more than that of any other councillor, which restored and preserved harmony between William and the Princess who was to succeed him ; and it was he whose bold remonstrance apparently contributed in no small degree to shame William out of his petulant inclination to abdicate the throne rather than part with his Dutch soldiers. While so all-important are financial considerations to every Government, and so pre-eminent was their weight at a time when the expenses of an arduous foreign war, to which the nation had long been unaccustomed, were added to the ordinary requirements of the State, that perhaps Montague, whose bold and original genius not only furnished the means for meeting all existing difficulties, but also laid the foundation and set the example of a system under which the country might from time to time show itself equal to any calls that might be made upon it, may claim to have contributed more than any one of his colleagues or contemporaries to the permanent stability and success of the new Government.

And in estimating the services of these statesmen it must not be overlooked that, even before they passed away, the Revolution had begun to bear its fruit in measures which were indispensable to the national prosperity and progress, yet which could never have been enacted under the Government which had fallen. If, indeed, we look at the enactments which, to use a modern form of expression, we may call the chief Government measures of this reign, our first feeling may perhaps be one of wonder at their small number. But that very paucity is one of the strongest proofs

of the practical wisdom of William and his Ministers. They had none of that feverish restlessness of legislation which had been the bane of some of their successors. The laws with which they enriched our statute-book were of lasting weight and service, though some of them made no pretence to novelty. The first, the Bill of Rights, the mere embodiment of a former "Declaration," whose very title was a denial of innovation, placed the civil and ecclesiastical rights and liberties of every class and every individual on a solid and immovable foundation. The emancipation of the Press secured freedom for thought and speech. One law established the independence of the judicial tribunals, without which experience had proved that even rights recognized in the Great Charter itself were not safe from attack ; another, by establishing periodical sessions and a limited duration of Parliament for ever ensured to the people a sufficient voice in all matters affecting their welfare.

These were the great features of the domestic administration of William and his Ministers ; and it is greatly to the credit of the sterling good sense of the English people of that age that, though living in a period of unusual excitement, they yet were contented that their rulers should so rigidly bound their views to measures of practical good, and to the removal of abuses of which they had actually experienced the evil. Nor need we seek to enhance their merit by the supposition that their acquiescence in this moderation in law-making arose in any degree from a perception that what was now done would facilitate or open the door to further legislation.

The bulk of a nation is never far-sighted. Though the next reign, short as it was, did not pass away without

affording one striking proof of the extent to which these measures had smoothed the way for fresh arrangements beneficial to every part of the United Kingdom in the legislative Union with Scotland. That great measure James I. had desired to accomplish from the first moment that the English sceptre passed into his hands, but his attempts had been unsuccessful. Cromwell, in a high-handed and imperfect manner, had for a moment established something of the kind when he summoned Scotch and Irish members to a Parliament at Westminster, though in his next Parliament he did not repeat the experiment. It had been one of the last proposals of Clarendon's administration under Charles II., but had constantly been defeated by one jealousy or another, till such unpatriotic feelings were extinguished or shamed into silence by the Revolution, though some remnants of them were still, for a time, allowed to mar the completeness of the measure.

The Union, indeed, may be said to have been the seal of the Revolution in Scotland; though, as we have spoken of the attempts to effect a counter-revolution in England during the first years of William's reign, we must not forbear to mention that attempts on a larger scale to restore the exiled family were twice made in Scotland during the reigns of the first two Georges. Yet, if we would seek a proof how firmly the principles of the Revolution, and a deep sense of the solid benefits which it had conferred on all classes, had taken hold of the very heart of both nations, we could find no better evidence than that which is afforded by the history of those enterprises, and especially of the second, which, at the time, was believed to be full of peril to the Brunswick dynasty.

A young Prince, specially acceptable to the Scotch as a



Prince of their own blood, taking advantage of the fact of the strength of England being pre-occupied in a continental war, landed in the Highlands to re-establish his father on the throne. The entire force which the zeal of all his adherents, greatly aided by the success which attended his first operations, could furnish, never exceeded 9,000 men. And though, through the incapacity of the commanders opposed to him, he was able to force his way to the very centre of England, not one Englishman of the slightest reputation or influence joined him; the middle and lower classes kept equally aloof; he was compelled to retreat even when no hostile force confronted him; and his expedition collapsed solely from the attachment of the whole nation to the state of things established by the Revolution; though the reigning monarch and all his sons were unpopular; though the Ministry was weak beyond almost all former example; and though party spirit and faction were unusually predominant both in and out of Parliament.

To justify any Revolution two things are indispensable, necessity and success. The Revolution of 1688 combines both these requisites. There can be no doubt that it was absolutely necessary. The prerogatives of the Crown on the one hand, and the rights of the people on the other, though clearly enough laid down in legal documents, in charters granted and confirmed by many kings, and in statutes passed by many Parliaments, had in practice come to be ill-defined. There was hardly one of the more important articles of the Great Charter that had not been violated by the Tudors; and, though the imperious despotism of those Sovereigns aroused a gradually increasing discontent, which, under the new dynasty of the Stuarts, when religious differences had added their excitement to aggravate



the slumbering disaffection, broke out into open resistance, the rebellion which ensued defeated itself, as we have seen, by the very completeness of its triumph. The excesses of those who prevailed produced a reaction, which the restored Princes mistook for such a recognition of the duty of non-resistance that, in the twenty-eight years that followed the Restoration, they trampled on the laws and on every principle of good and free government more shamelessly than the most headstrong of their predecessors.

And, if Charles II. was too indolent to organize a settled system of tyranny, James II. did not scruple to found his claim to dispense with the laws on the pernicious maxim which he had inherited from his grandfather, of his divine right to the throne. The assertion of such a right clearly involved the denial of any right on the part of his subjects to bind him by any conditions. But a constitutional Government in its very essence is one of conditions ; and if it was thus impossible to bind James, with his ideas, to the observance of terms, it became indispensable to place a Sovereign on the throne in his stead who could be so bound. The Revolution, therefore, was indispensably necessary. And it is the peculiar glory of the statesmen who accomplished it that they went no farther than was necessary ; and sought nothing beyond security for the maintenance of those liberties of which, by a hundred laws, the people were clearly rightful possessors. As we have already seen, it is to this moderation that the Revolution, in a great degree, owes its other justification, that of success.

One further observation it seems important to make. That, though it is often spoken of as a Protestant Revolution, to which we are indebted for the maintenance of the reformed religion in the country, it was not originally a

religious movement. While Charles was on the throne the attempt to exclude James from the succession on the ground of his being a Roman Catholic failed; and, after James became King, the whole nation, for a time, was not merely acquiescent but even ardent in its loyalty. Not only was the Privy Council warm in its expressions of attachment to its new master, but the general election, which took place three months after his accession, returned a House of Commons so inclined to obedience that he admitted that he himself could hardly have improved it. And when, in the course of the summer, the Duke of Monmouth, who a year or two before had been paraded as the champion of Protestantism, took up arms to overturn his Government, he only brought ruin on himself and additional strength to the new Sovereign.

It was not till, in spite of the warnings of many Roman Catholic statesmen, James, by his persecution of Protestants, whether belonging to the Established Church or Non-conformists, by his repeated violations of the ancient and well-known laws of the kingdom, and by his pertinacious invasions of the civil rights and privileges of his subjects, had compelled them to identify Popery with tyranny that they rose against him; and even when they did so rise, their views did not at first go beyond compelling him to observe those ancient laws which he had already sworn to maintain. Nor did any party of the slightest influence in the State contemplate stripping him of a single particle of his lawful prerogatives till, with unprecedented pusillanimity, he fled the kingdom and practically abdicated his authority.

The brilliant historian of these times, in the impassioned eulogy with which he closes the first part of his narrative, has wisely rested one of its chief claims on our admiration

and gratitude in the circumstance that it has been our last Revolution. That it has been such is high praise of the people also, as well as of their rulers, since it testifies by the irresistible evidence of facts to their possession of a sobriety and steadiness of judgment which neither the spirit of faction nor the arts of demagogues can permanently disturb or mislead. These qualities, which are at once moral and intellectual virtues, are, as we are wont to flatter ourselves, among the especial characteristics of the national mind, and the fruit which, in this instance, they have produced is, at the same time, their best reward. It is the continued enjoyment of a Constitution which, beyond any other ever known in the world, combines strength and stability with a capacity for improvement, and the full maintenance of all legitimate authority with the most complete freedom to every individual.

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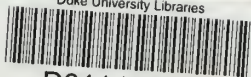
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